

BYZANTIOΣ
Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization

Martin Hinterberger (Ed.)

The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature

BREPOLS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

MARTIN HINTERBERGER

INTRODUCTION*

The language of Byzantine literature (here taken to include Greek literature produced ca 300-1450) is a topic more often avoided than embraced. As is the case with most written languages, and particularly literary discourse, Byzantine literary Greek does not clearly reflect the spoken, everyday language, but is rather a language devised for formal use. Its remoteness from the spoken language varies in degree from text to text, and in some cases it is extreme. This is due to an extremely conservative educational system, which relied mostly on model texts that enjoyed very great prestige, and had been composed many centuries earlier, mostly during the classical Greek period, but also in Hellenistic and imperial times. At first sight, most Byzantine texts seem to be written in a language which, particularly in its orthography and morphology, do not differ significantly from Ancient Greek, while only a rather limited number of texts exhibit linguistic features that clearly point in the direction of Modern Greek. The latter category is usually referred to as literature in the vernacular, while the first is called learned literature, and its most archaic/conservative form classicizing/atticizing literature. It is the language of this learned literature that the present volume aims to investigate.

Although since the beginnings of modern-day Byzantine studies the interpretation of Byzantine texts has been an indispensible part of the relevant university syllabus, courses on specifically Byzantine Greek have hardly been offered. For the interpretation of Byzantine texts (basic) knowledge of Ancient Greek and, on a secondary level, Modern Greek is assumed to be sufficient (Byzantine Greek being located somewhere in between, sometimes tending more to Ancient Greek, sometimes more to Modern Greek). Most Byzantinists have never actually been given specific instruction in Byzantine Greek per se. I believe that, not least in light of the linguistic peculiarities presented in this volume – highlighting as they do Byzantine Greek as a self-contained system presenting its own internal consistency –, this should change.

* I would like to thank John Davis for his judicious comments on the present article and for emending my English.

Because of its seemingly "Ancient Greek" character the learned variety of Byzantine Greek has so far attracted only somewhat sporadic scholarly attention, whereas the vernacular, despite the relative paucity of material, particularly until the 12th c., is comparatively well researched, giving us, for example, The Grammar of Medieval Greek, i.e. of the spoken language or texts composed in a language form close to the spoken language, that is shortly due to appear from Cambridge University Press under the supervision of David Holton and Geoffrey Horrocks. It is surely high time that a similar project on the learned language should be undertaken by an equally well qualified team of scholars.

To previous generations of Byzantinists the distinction between vernacular and learned Byzantine literature appeared to be of such fundamental significance that the two varieties were treated separately: indeed, there are three separate handbooks on Byzantine literature in the highly prestigious Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft series, the topic of two of them defined in terms of linguistic variety (*hochsprachliche Literatur* vs *Volksliteratur*), while there are two separate dictionaries of Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) Greek, the one containing vernacular vocabulary from the 11th to the 17th century, the other focusing on the non-vernacular words of Byzantine literature.[1] In the course of time, a real dichotomy became established, which despite the efforts of some to lay it to rest,[2] is still influential in the field. We have thus been left with a situation where, although the relevance of a clearly mapped out understanding of the language for a meaningful appraisal of Byzantine literature is hardly disputed, this language per se has been surprisingly neglected.

The reasons why the learned language has not attracted scholarly interest were recently presented by Staffan Wahlgren:[3] first, it has been

[1] Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII/2,1, XII/2,3 and XII/5 (= Byzantinisches Handbuch II/1, II/3 and 5): H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959); idem, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971); H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978). E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας* (Thessaloniki, 1967-); E. Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1994-).

[2] E. Trapp, "Learned and vernacular literature in Byzantium: dichotomy or symbiosis?", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), 115–129. M. Hinterberger, "Δημώδης και λόγια λογοτεχνία: Διαχωριστικές γραμμές και συνδετικοί κρίκοι", in P. Odorico – P. A. Agapitos (eds.), *Pour une «nouvelle» histoire de la littérature byzantine. Problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du Colloque international philologique Nicosie-Chypre 25-28 mai 2000*, Dossiers Byzantins 1 (Paris, 2002), pp. 153-165.

[3] S. Wahlgren, "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 527-538, esp. p. 527.

simply considered identical with Ancient Greek and, second, contemporary linguistics is primarily interested in "natural" language (for more on this, see Io Manolessou in this volume). Whenever the language of Byzantine learned literature has been studied, this has been done primarily in comparison with and in reference to, Ancient Greek. Thus, the *indices graecitatis* in the editions of the Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae series, arguably the most prestigious series of Byzantine texts, usually lists linguistic characteristics of the respective texts as deviations from Ancient Greek norms. These indices remain an important source of information, but the picture of the language of Byzantine literature as "deviant" is highly distorting and misleading. Only exceptionally have Byzantine texts been connected to other Byzantine texts in respect of their language.[4] In a most fruitful manner, this has been done with *metaphrases* (simplifying or elaborating versions of an already existing text) and their originals.[5] The semantic equivalences of different forms in such corresponding texts provide a significant insight into the meaning, but also the stylistic qualities, of vocabulary and morphological categories. *Metaphrases* as a source of linguistic information are exploited in the present volume as well (see Kateřina Bočková Loudová's and Martin Hinterberger's contributions).

What exactly do we mean by the label "learned language" or "high register language" (or the German term "Hochsprache")? The learned language is not a homogeneous, uniform and standardized language, but rather a sliding scale of slightly varying registers that make "extensive use of linguistic features from older forms of Greek"[6]. In contrast with the vernacular, learned Greek requires a considerable degree of education on the part of the writer and reader.[7] Usually, we call highly classicizing

[4] E.g. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas", *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 5 (1978), 139-170.

[5] See esp. H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI—XIII. Ein Beitrag zur Erschließung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 15 (Vienna, 1981). H. Hunger – I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 18 (Vienna, 1988). J. Davis, *Η Μετάφραση της Χρονικής Διηγήσεως του Νικήτα Χωνιάτη* (Ph.D. diss., Ioannina, 2004, 2 vols).

[6] D. Holton – I. Manolessou, "Medieval and Modern Greek", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Greek linguistics* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 539-563, at p. 541.

[7] Holton – Manolessou, "Medieval and Modern Greek", p. 541. See also ibid.: "From a linguistic point of view the main difference between the low and high registers is that only the former may be acquired as a native tongue through the mechanism

or atticizing[8] those among the learned registers which display (to a considerable extent) Ancient Greek features that are entirely alien to the spoken language (particularly the dual, attic declension, pluperfect etc.).[9] Conversely, decidedly vernacular registers make use of linguistic features alien to Ancient Greek. The overwhelming majority of Byzantine texts, however, is written in an idiom (often called "literary Koine") which avoids both clearly vernacular and atticistic features and accordingly is neither atticistic nor vernacular. It is, however, not at all clear whether boundaries between the learned and non-learned/vernacular varieties can be neatly drawn, and an absolute distinction between them is perhaps not necessary.[10] A more flexible categorization in the form of indexation along a chosen set of linguistic criteria, drawing on modern sociolinguistic methods as Marilena Karyolemou proposes in this volume, perhaps offers us a more useful approach.

Whereas in modern Byzantine studies a tripartite model ("high, middle and low register" or "classicizing Greek, literary Koine and popular Koine") is widely in use in order to categorize Byzantine texts[11], the Byzantines themselves distinguished primarily two varieties of the written language, namely high and low. The first, which is marked by its close imitation of the Ancient Greek model texts, is classicizing or atticizing Greek, what the Byzantines called *hellenika*.[12] Whereas the

of first-language acquisition, while the second is only accessible through instruction." However all forms of the low register accessible to us today have been filtered through some form of instruction, because only written texts have been preserved.

8 See e.g. R. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", in S. Vryonis, jr (ed.), *The Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 1 (Malibu, Calif. 1978), pp. 103-133 (= idem, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* [Northampton, 1989], XV).

9 On the literary function of the dual see D. R. Reinsch, "Der Dual als Mittel literarischer Gestaltung in Michael Psellos' Chronographia", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 106 (2013), 133-142.

10 M. Hinterberger, "How should we define vernacular literature", (paper delivered at the conference 'Unlocking the potential of texts: interdisciplinary perspectives on Medieval Greek' held in Cambridge 18-19 July 2006) http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/Hinterberger.pdf. Cf. also N. Toufexis, "Diglossia and register variation in Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), 203–217.

11 I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantistik* (1981) 31/1, 289-312. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature".

12 A thorough investigation of the Byzantine terminology concerning different linguistic levels is still needed; see e.g. on ἑλληνιστί/Ἑλληνὶς διάλεκτος J. Koder, "Sprache als Identitätsmerkmal bei den Byzantinern. Auf –isti endende sprachbezogene Adverbien in den griechischen Quellen", *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der*

second comprises all other texts that did not live up to this standard of imitation. It is my opinion that in Byzantine eyes vernacular texts did not constitute a separate category, but belonged to this second variety.

Most authors of classicizing texts make more or less creative use of those linguistic features which are characteristic markers of their language form; in other words, they freely combine aorist subjunctive, future indicative and optative forms,[13] or the aorist, perfect and pluperfect alternate as narrative tenses. In addition, most authors use distinctively classicizing forms (e.g. the dative, the pluperfect) far more frequently than they were used in their Ancient Greek model texts. They even make occasional use of forms which were hardly, or indeed never, used in Ancient Greek (e.g. the passive future subjunctive).[14] All these phenomena, which even today are usually regarded as regrettable deviations from the classical norm, are in fact expressions of what Robert Browning most aptly called Byzantine "conceptual classicism", the appropriation and creative modification of linguistic elements found in classical model texts.[15] The same holds true for the numerous new words formed in Byzantine Greek in line with Ancient Greek patterns without in fact being Ancient Greek words (approximately 2/3 of the words collected in the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*).[16] It is also apparent that the syntactical patterns of the spoken language underlie most Byzantine texts. Byzantine classicizing language diverges from Ancient Greek norms not primarily because Byzantine authors were incapable of following those norms, but because of their conscious decision not to do so.[17] Instead,

Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 17/2 (2012) 5-37, and on ἀττικῶς G. Böhlig, "Zum Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter", in J. Irmscher (ed.), *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik I*, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 5 (Berlin, 1957), pp. 1-13.

[13] G. Horrocks, "High-register medieval Greek: 'Diglossia' and what lay behind it", in C. Carpinato – O. Tribulato (eds.), *Storia e Storie della Lingua Greca* (Venice, forthcoming).

[14] N. Nicholas, "The Passive Future Subjunctive in Byzantine texts", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101 (2008), 89-131.

[15] Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", p. 107 (cf. also p. 117 und 120).

[16] Cf. M. Hinterberger, "Wortschöpfung und literarischer Stil bei Methodios I.", in E. Trapp – S. Schönauer (eds.), *Lexicologica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie (Bonn, 13.—15. Juli 2007)*, Super alta perennis 4 (Göttingen, 2008), 119-150, esp. p. 120.

[17] Cf. G. Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London – New York 1997), esp. p. 177: "... Anna clearly no more intended to 'copy' the style of the ancients than did Psellos; this was after all, *the 'living' literary language* of educated Byzantines, and writers were free to exploit the full range of traditional resources in their compositions." (my emphasis)

they aimed at producing texts in a creative and innovative manner that satisfied new aesthetic demands and principles. The investigation of how exactly Byzantine authors used those distinctively classicizing forms will be one of the key tasks of any future research. Since, by and large, they were free in their choices, it is in this respect that authors probably differ most conspicuously from one another and it is along these lines of investigation that significant contributions to Byzantine stylistics can most likely be made.

Perhaps in view of the Cambridge Medieval Greek Grammar project or simply as a sign of the maturing of the scholarly discipline of Byzantine studies, during the last decade the demand for a serious treatment of the Byzantine learned language has become more urgent, and as a result the idea of a joint effort to advance the investigation of the learned language was born. In April 2011 a workshop was held at the University of Cyprus in Nicosia where seven of the contributors to this volume met in order to discuss the topic. First drafts of the present papers were presented and discussed, and modifications and elaborations suggested. Fortunately, Jacques Noret joined the group shortly afterwards.

Modern linguistics has shown disappointingly little interest in the language of Byzantine literature. The reasons for this neglect are explained with succinct clarity by Io Manolessou. Modern linguistics is primarily interested in natural languages. Learned Byzantine language, however, though certainly influenced by the living spoken language, reflects the latter only partially. Manolessou, however, points fruitfully to the ways in which literature in the learned language can be of interest to linguists. Furthermore, she points to Medieval Latin as a case that can and should be compared to Byzantine Greek. In other words, future studies on the Byzantine language need to take research on Medieval Latin into consideration. Although several of the present contributions point out that the learned language reflects developments in the spoken language even in areas till now barely explored, the Byzantine learned language remains, to a great extent, a *Kunstsprache*, which I suspect in the future will attract primarily the attention of students of Byzantine literature, hardly of linguists.

Manolessou points to the fact that sociolinguistics is the branch of modern linguistics that is probably most interested in the Byzantine language. Examining the subject of this volume in the wider context of sociolinguistics, Marilena Karyolemou presents examples from modern languages in which, as in Byzantine Greek, language coexistence/

linguistic duality can be observed. Typical phenomena of linguistic duality found also in Byzantine Greek include the parallel use of linguistic features characteristic now of the low variety, now of the high variety, or alteration, the use of two (or more) linguistic items characteristic of different varieties but with the same semantic value. As in the case of Byzantine Greek, varieties of modern languages are difficult to categorize and to locate on the low-high scale (see, for instance, the difficulties Ihor Ševčenko encountered when classifying texts according to his low-middle-high scheme and the supplementary terms – "lower middle style" or "super-high style" – he was forced to use for some texts).[18] Applying methods of contemporary sociolinguistic research, Karyolemou proposes the indexation of each text as regards its vernacular-ness and learned-ness respectively. Precisely which features and characteristics will be used for this indexation is still open to discussion. Certain morphological features typical of the vernacular as well as certain elements characteristic of the high-classicizing variety of Byzantine Greek will no doubt be part of it. I strongly believe that this will mark a significant step forward in the attempt to clarify the often confusing richness of linguistic forms to be encountered in Byzantine literature.

Both Manolessou and Karyolemou emphasize the importance of the living language for our understanding and evaluation of Byzantine texts. Conversely, the heavy burden of the classical/classicizing tradition that was borne by anyone who acquired even a rudimentary formal education, without doubt contributed significantly to the formation of the Byzantine literary language as well. The precise way in which the Byzantine literary tradition, as filtered through the educational system influenced writers is a complex issue which Antonia Giannouli has undertaken to explore. In an admirably concise manner, she traces the content, methods and tools of Byzantine formal language instruction giving us a clear outline of the Byzantines' intimate relationship with Ancient Greek texts and of the profound influence exerted on Byzantine textual production by this familiarity with the Ancient Greek heritage – at least as regards the very literary and scholarly elite. It becomes clear how much effort Byzantines expended in acquiring competence in the learned language, but also that certain topics, such as, for instance, syntax (which modern language training places much emphasis on), were of minor importance or entirely overlooked. Byzantine authors, having completed the curriculum and undergone a particularly thorough training, developed a

18 Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", pp. 291 and 302.

conscious stance concerning punctuation, accentuation, vocabulary, and morphology. In this vein, they were accustomed to examine and to submit to criticism the literary works of their contemporaries. These matters therefore have to be taken seriously into consideration by modern scholars, too. In all probability, a certain word or form or punctuation mark chosen by a Byzantine author is not the result of a random act, but motivated by a deliberate decision. Giannouli places special emphasis on the direct impact the tools of language instruction (e.g. *schede*) had on literary production. This is a point which has particular relevance when examining authors who gained their living as teachers. Giannouli's article is full of intriguing ideas which will surely serve as a springboard for future research. The significance of grammatical treatises for our understanding and investigation of Byzantine literary language becomes also evident from the contributions to this volume by Kateřina Bočková Loudová, Jacques Noret and Juan Signes.

Juan Signes has devoted substantial energy to elucidating the *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* of the medium voice, a summary of which he presents in his present article.[19] This he combines with an investigation of the theoretical and practical treatment of the medium by Byzantine grammarians and authors. The treatment of the medium as a separate morphological category, unknown to ancient and Byzantine grammarians, goes back to a rearrangement, for didactic reasons, of morphological tables in the 15th century. This arbitrary situation, deviating from former usage, is the origin of a misinterpretation which has influenced ever since our understanding of Ancient Greek and, consequently, of Byzantine Greek direct and indirect reflexives. The Byzantine grammarians themselves usually categorized medium verbal forms either as active (indirect reflexive) or passive (direct reflexives). Signes juxtaposes Byzantine grammatical theory on the medium, which is highly conservative, and Byzantine writing practice, which is more permeable to innovative trends. He observes the influence of the living language on learned Greek texts, but most interestingly on theoretical grammar as well.

As we have repeatedly stated, the study of the Byzantine language has been neglected under the impression that it is more or less a poor imitation of Ancient Greek. The authority that Ancient Greek exercised over Byzantine Greek has never been questioned, nor have the rules instilled

[19] Cf. See J. Signes Codoñer, "The Definitions of the Greek middle voice between Apollonius Dyscolus and Constantinus Lascaris", *Historiographia Linguistica* 32 (2005), 1-33, and idem, *La voz media del verbo griego en la tradición gramatical desde la época helenística hasta la ilustración* (Salamanca, 2014).

into modern students through modern text books been doubted even when Byzantine conventions overwhelmingly contradicted those rules. The conventions concerning accentuation have been seriously studied only recently.[20] In his article Jacques Noret, the authority on this field, presents the summa of his numerous studies of the past 30 years on cases where Byzantine accentuation deviates from rules taught in school as unquestioned foundations of Ancient Greek and, by extension, Byzantine Greek grammar.

Like Juan Signes, Noret traces a misinterpretation of the Ancient/ Byzantine grammatical tradition back to the 15th c., which has determined the modern understanding of Ancient Greek and Byzantine Greek accentuation. Concerning the accentuation of classical Greek, modern grammars are based on rather arbitrarily chosen grammatical treatises (attested for the first time in the 15th c.) which may or may not record real Ancient Greek conventions, but in many respects do not coincide with the usage attested in manuscripts from 9th/10th c. to the 15th c. Again, also in this case, theoretical grammar proved to be more influential than manuscript/textual evidence. In modern scholars' eyes, what had no grammatical permission to exist, could not possibly exist. As a result, when editing texts, generations of philologists, blindly trusting their textbook knowledge, corrected, usually tacitly, against the consistent usage of Byzantine manuscripts.

Concerning those rules of accentuation which in all probability applied to classical Greek, but frequently or even consistently were not followed by Byzantine scribes/authors, Noret convincingly postulates the fundamental changes in pronunciation which the spoken language had undergone since classical times as the primary reason for this discrepancy. Furthermore, he demonstrates that during the Byzantine period *enclisis* tended to be used in order to place emphasis on the preceding word.

The impressive mass of evidence gathered by Noret will serve to shake a number of well established certainties. Indeed, this groundbreaking article raises the question of whether editors of Byzantine texts should not seriously consider abandoning a centuries-old editorial tradition and rather follow the Byzantine conventions. Whatever the case, we

[20] In addition to J. Noret's numerous studies see e.g. the meticulous analysis in R. D. Reinsch – A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40 (Berlin – New York, 2001), 34*-52* ('Probleme der Akzentuation'), or in F. Kolovou, *Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike. Einleitung, Regesten, Text, Indizes*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 239 (Munich – Leipzig 2006), 81*-84* ('Enklitika' etc.).

shall have to be more careful before dismissing a certain form as scribal error.

Kateřina Bočková Loudová devotes her contribution to another somewhat neglected subject in Byzantine philology, the particles or discourse markers, an issue she has dealt with also on previous occasions.[21] The use of particles is probably as good an indication of the linguistic/stylistic level of a certain text as decidedly atticistic verbal or nominal forms. Certain particles which are entirely alien to the spoken language and whose "correct" usage demanded exact training that only intense schooling could provide are clear markers of classicizing Greek. Generally, a great variety of different particles are the hallmark of classicizing texts while high frequency of only a few, but semantically quite flexible, particles is to be found in simpler texts. This fact is clearly exemplified by comparing the use of particles in Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Basilikos andrias* and its 14th c. *metaphrasis*. These "small words", besides their significance for the internal coherence of a text, promise to play an important role in future research on the linguistic/stylistic level of Byzantine texts.

Staffan Wahlgren explores the use of the dative case in certain authors. This grammatical category was still alive in the spoken language, to some extent at least, until the 10th c. Interestingly, in the subsequent centuries, the frequency of appearance of the dative in classicizing texts increases significantly as does the variety of its functions. Wahlgren concludes that this free usage of the dative is the result of its death in the spoken language – a development we observe also with other categories, such as the optative or the pluperfect. A key finding of Wahlgren's investigation, however, is the fact that the dative is surprisingly alive and productive in a wide range of Byzantine texts, including those of a relatively mundane kind.

As already shown in Bočková Loudová's contribution, also in Martin Hinterberger's paper the juxtaposition of *metaphrasis* and original work proves an important source of information. Hinterberger explores how the Byzantines used the synthetic perfect, a verbal category that as far back as the Hellenistic period had started to lose currency in the spoken language, but was nevertheless widely used in Byzantine texts. Arranged in three sections, the following issues are investigated: the frequency

[21] E.g. K. Loudová, "Cohesive Textual Means in Early Byzantine Chronicles as a Mirror of the Language Register", in K. Loudová – M. Záková (eds.), *Early European Languages in the Eyes of Modern Linguistics. Proceedings of the Colloquium on the Ancient Indo-European Languages and the Early Stages of the Modern Romance, Germanic and Slavonic Languages, 28 September – 1 October 2008 Brno* (Brno, 2009), pp. 189-202.

with which synthetic perfect forms are actually used in Byzantine texts, what these forms mean, and why they are chosen. As in the case of the synthetic pluperfect, a subject treated in a previous study,[22] the present investigation shows that more often than not the synthetic perfect freely alternates with aorist forms or replaces them. In contrast to the pluperfect, however, apart from the passive participle which survived into Modern Greek, a lexically restricted category of synthetic perfect indicative forms seems to have still been part of the spoken language during the early Byzantine period. In the later centuries, the frequent use of synthetic perfect forms is characteristic of the classicizing variety of Byzantine Greek, as the comparison of *metaphraseis* and original works clearly demonstrates. Being more or less 'free' linguistic features, each author seems to have used the perfect forms in a more or less personal manner, thus making them an intriguing subject for stylistic analysis.

Of course, not all areas of the Byzantine learned language could be treated here. Vocabulary and punctuation were excluded because, in comparison with other topics, they have already been subjected to fairly close investigation. Thanks to the numerous studies by Erich Trapp himself and the members of the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* research team the vocabulary of Byzantine learned literature has been reasonably well explored, though this should not be taken to imply that there is not still work to be done.[23] The intriguing topic of punctuation was recently the focus of a conference organized by Antonia Giannouli and Elisabeth Schiffer.[24] In any future comprehensive treatment of the Byzantine learned language this issue, of course, will have to be considered too.

[22] M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur: Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur, gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Byzantinisches Archiv 20 (Munich – Leipzig, 2007), pp. 107-142.

[23] E. Trapp et al., *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie,* Byzantina Vindobonensia 18 (Vienna, 1988). W. Hörandner – E. Trapp (eds.), *Lexikographica Byzantina*, Byzantina Vindobonensia 20 (Vienna, 1991). E. Trapp – S. Schönauer (eds.), *Lexicologica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie (Bonn, 13.-15. Juli 2007)*, Super alta perennis 4 (Göttingen, 2008). On November 30th, 2013 a workshop organized by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Centre for Medieval Studies, Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research) treated the subject "Byzantine Lexicography and the Digital Age".

[24] A. Giannouli – E. Schiffer (eds.), *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)*, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 29 (Vienna, 2011).

Several of the articles in this volume, independently of one another, stress the fact that hitherto only marginally researched conventions of the learned Byzantine language, which constitute 'deviations' from Ancient Greek norms, reflect the spoken language. This may come as a surprise to many scholars, who would not have suspected this highly conservative language to admit such influences, and indeed it may in the end stimulate a more lively interest of modern linguistics in the learned language. Nevertheless, it is perhaps overly dogmatic to assume that all 'deviations' from the classical rules can be explained exclusively as being motivated by the spoken language. I rather believe that, however artificial the learned language may have been, it developed innovative and creative features independent of the spoken language. Furthermore, this language was not static, however immoveable it seems to be on the surface, but underwent changes over time in line with new aesthetic tastes and stylistic innovations. The learned language is certainly worth exploring as a communicative system, consistent in itself, with all the subtle changes it underwent over time. A descriptive grammar of the learned language of Byzantine literature, which has repeatedly been singled out as an urgent desideratum of Byzantine literary studies, will surely shed some light on these still opaque areas.[25]

The present volume aims at mapping out certain directions in which a more considered analysis of Byzantine literary Greek may bear fruit, and at fostering more subtle and nuanced ways in which to approach these texts. While I wish to believe that this volume takes the study of the learned language a substantial step forward, we are still a long way from a full description of "Byzantine linguistic usage on its own terms, as a language with its own rules and dynamics"[26]. In the more distant future, once the ground research still needed has been completed, the language of learned Byzantine literature should acquire the descriptive grammar that it warrants and deserves. Only with the collaboration of many scholars will such a difficult task become reality. I would therefore like to extend my warm thanks to those who participated in this volume for their good will, patience and cooperative spirit. It is my hope that the gathering of our research in a single volume – indeed, the first of its kind dedicated to the exploration of the learned language – will show how intriguing a topic Byzantine Greek is and how much fascinating work remains to be done.

[25] E.g. S. Wahlgren, "Towards a Grammar of Byzantine Greek", *Symbolae Osloenses* 77 (2002), 201-204.

[26] Wahlgren, "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", p. 527.

IO MANOLESSOU

LEARNED BYZANTINE LITERATURE AND MODERN LINGUISTICS

Introduction

The issues discussed in the present paper were prompted by the double realization that modern linguistic analyses of Byzantine texts are quite scarce, and of those that do exist, only a few take account of the latest developments in linguistics. Characteristically, in the large field of Byzantine studies linguistics is under-represented, judging at least from the low number of entries on learned Byzantine Greek in the section "Sprache" of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* bibliography and from the programmes of the two most recent International Conferences on Byzantine Studies, London 2006 and Sofia 2011.[1] Considering that all other periods in the history of the Greek language are well covered from a linguistic point of view (cf. the relevant sections in the annual bibliographies of the *Année Philologique* and the *International Linguistic Bibliography*), this relative imbalance requires an explanation. Also, there is no comprehensive grammatical description for the language of this period,[2] although several descriptions of the language of individual authors are available.[3]

[1] The same point was made at the previous (20th) conference of Byzantine Studies in 2001 by S. Wahlgren, "Towards a Grammar of Byzantine Greek", *Symbolae Osloenses* 77 (2002), 201-204, at p. 201, but the situation has remained relatively unchanged since then. For the relative lack of bibliography on the learned language of the Byzantine period as compared to the vernacular see also A. Rollo, "'Greco medievale' e 'greco bizantino'", *AION 30* (2008), 429-473.

[2] For a description of the main characteristics of learned Byzantine language see R. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", in S. Vryonis, jr (ed.), *The Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture* (Malibu, 1978), pp. 103-133, G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (Chichester, 2010), esp. ch. 9 'Byzantine belles lettres', S. Wahlgren, "The Byzantine literary language and classical antiquity", in Ch. Caragounis (ed.), *Greek: A Language in Evolution. Essays in honour of Antonios N. Jannaris* (Hildesheim, 2010), pp. 199-208 and S. Wahlgren "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 527-538. For diglossia (spoken, everyday native language vs. elaborate learned language acquired through education) see N. Toufexis, "Diglossia and Register Variation in Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), 203-217 and references therein.

[3] For the language of individual authors see the collected bibliography by Ph. Apostolopoulos, *Inventaire méthodique de linguistique byzantine (grec médiéval). Essai*

To a large extent, the imbalance can be attributed to the clash between the aims and subject-matter of modern theoretical and historical linguistics and the type of evidence provided by the learned Byzantine texts, as well as to the different attitudes towards language adopted by the Byzantine authors and the modern scholarly community. These issues will be discussed in what follows.

1. The Aims and the Subject-Matter of Linguistics

The scientific discipline of linguistics in modern times (that is, in the 19th c.) was partly born out of the necessity to approach and understand the linguistic monuments of the great literatures of the past (Ancient Greek, Latin, Sanskrit); in its origins therefore it was primarily concerned with the analysis of written texts of past periods, and not with the "living" contemporary language. Additionally, the quest for the "original" parent language, which constituted one of the first motives for linguistic research and the overall historical outlook of Neogrammarian linguistics in the spirit of 19th c. historical positivism[4] meant that older written sources were prioritized in the first periods of the scientific study of language. This inextricable connection between the disciplines of linguistics and the literature of past periods is evident in the English meaning of the word "philology", which is synonymous with historical-comparative linguistics.[5]

d'une bibliographie raisonnée des travaux sur la langue byzantine (1880–1975). Thessaloniki, 1994), complemented by M. Janse, "Regard sur les études de linguistique byzantine (grec mediéval) ", *Orbis* 39 (1996-97), 193-244.

4 On these factors see R. H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (London, 1967), pp. 164-197.

5 Cf. the definition in D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Malden, 2008, 6th ed.), p. 360: "philology (*n.*): The traditional term for the study of language history, as carried on by comparative philologists since the late eighteenth century. The study of literary texts is also sometimes included within the term (though not in Britain), as is the study of texts as part of cultural, political, etc., research". Cf. also L. Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An introduction* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 327: "Sometimes philology is taken to be merely the study of some classical or older language – in this sense, we see university departments and professional journals dedicated to Classical philology, English philology, Germanic philology, Nordic philology, Romance philology and so on. Sometimes philology is understood to mean historical linguistics as practised in the nineteenth century, since what is today called historical linguistics was often referred to earlier as 'philology', as in 'Indo-European philology'."

A hundred years later,[6] partly as a reaction to the overwhelming attention of linguistics to "dead" texts, there came about an almost total change of course: what is primary for the discipline of linguistics is not the product of language, i.e. literature, however great, but language itself: how it works, how it is structured, how it changes and what it can tell us about the human brain, its function and development. In more detail, modern linguistics wants to answer questions like:

What are the minimal units that make up language in various levels of analysis (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics), i.e. what are the basic sounds, grammatical forms, syntactic constructions or meanings that constitute the building blocks of language? How are these constructed to form a coherent system? Which of these are universal (i.e. common to all languages) and which are language-specific? How are linguistic systems transmitted from generation to generation? Modern linguistics, aims, to use a more technical term, to achieve not simply descriptive adequacy, i.e. to accurately describe all instantiations of a specific language form, but, more importantly, explanatory adequacy, i.e. to formulate an account of why a language form is the way it is, what makes a certain construction grammatical or not, and how this is connected to the innate properties of the human mind.[7]

All this can be better investigated if the material the linguist has to work with is as close as possible to the spontaneous, un-mediated, direct product of the language faculty. Therefore, in order to allow as few "intermediaries" as possible between the mental and/or physical processes that generate speech and the final utterance, and to exclude as far as possible extra-linguistic factors which might confuse the picture and complicate research, modern linguistics gives primacy to a) spoken language over written language b) "everyday", "natural" language over elaborated, specialized, literary

[6] If one dates conventionally the birth of historical linguistics to 1816, the date of the publication of F. Bopp's *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache* and the birth of modern structural and descriptive linguistics to 1916, the date of the posthumous publication of F. de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique generale*. This is not to say, of course, that 19th c. historical linguistics had not recognized the value of spoken language for investigating language history; on the contrary, the Neogrammarian school emphasized the necessity for relying on the dialects and the "language of the people" (cf. Campbell, *Historical linguistics*, p. 334) in order to understand how language works and changes.

[7] See C. Boeckx – N. Hornstein, "The varying aims of linguistic theory", in . J. Franck – J. Bricmont (eds.), *Cahier Chomsky* (Paris, 2007), pp. 61-77 and G. Graffi, "20th century linguistics: overview of trends'", in K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Boston, 2006), pp. 181-195.

or technical language c) first language spoken by native speakers and acquired during childhood through simple interaction with the surrounding linguistic community over second language, acquired through schooling and d) contemporary, current language over past forms of language.

From the above it becomes obvious that learned Byzantine literature by definition fails to satisfy all four criteria: the language form that it is expressed in is a) written b) stylized and elaborated c) impossible to acquire as a native first language and d) aged at least a thousand years. It therefore simply lies outside the field of research of mainstream theoretical and descriptive linguistics, being practically unusable for the pursuit of its main research goals.[8]

Admittedly, there *is* a branch of linguistics which is specifically concerned with past forms of language, namely, historical linguistics; one would expect therefore that this is where one Byzantine literature would find its "linguistic audience". This is discussed in the next section.

2. The Aims and the Subject-Matter of Historical Linguistics

Being a sub-branch of modern theoretical linguistics, historical linguistics actually has the same ultimate aim: to achieve an understanding of how the language faculty works. Its way to approach this understanding is to observe how language changes through time and to try and find explanations for these changes. In more detail, historical linguistics poses questions like the following:

- what are the possible and impossible changes in each level of linguistic analysis (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics)? Does change follow specific directions or pathways? What are the causes and triggers of change? Once a change has happened, how does it propagate through a linguistic community? And how does it spread from area to area, creating dialectal differentiation, and in extreme cases, break-up into different languages?[9]

In order to answer these questions, i.e. in order to be able to observe change (the first necessary requirement for its interpretation), historical

[8] The lack of interest of modern linguistics for learned Byzantine language because of its preference for "spoken" or "natural" language is also discussed in Wahlgren, "Towards a Grammar", p. 201 and Wahlgren, "Byzantine literary language", p. 199.

[9] For a short introduction to the subject-matter of historical linguistics see B. D. Joseph, "Historical Linguistics", in M. Aronoff – J. Rees-Miller (eds.), *The Handbook of Linguistics* (Malden, 2002), pp. 105-129.

linguistics actually needs first to describe and understand a linguistic form in each stage of its evolution. Diachronic research can be conducted only if synchronic research has been conducted first: a series of consecutive linguistic systems must be posited, and these must then be compared to each other, so that their differences, i.e. change, can be observed and then explained. As a result, the requirements of synchronic descriptive linguistics hold for historical linguistics as well: historical linguistics, if it wants to adequately understand the various consecutive systems, also needs access to primary material that is as close as possible to the spontaneous, un-mediated, product of the language faculty and as little as possible influenced by extra-linguistic factors. But this requirement is much harder to be met.

As already discussed, modern linguistics gives preference to four types of language: a) spoken vs. written b) "everyday" vs. elaborated c) native vs. secondarily acquired and d) contemporary vs. past. Obviously, for historical linguistics, points (d) and (a) are no longer a requirement: one *does* want to focus on past forms of language, and one *has* to use written sources as primary material, since nothing else is available: there are no living native speakers that one could record or interview, only passive texts awaiting interpretation. But because two out of four of the necessary safeguards against complicating and misleading factors have been given up, the necessity to maintain the other two becomes even stronger: historical linguistics, in order to produce results that will aid the understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic change and the function of the language faculty, absolutely needs to rely on material which is, as far as possible (b) "everyday" and not elaborated and (c) produced as a first language by native speakers.

The truth is, of course, that requirement (b) is also an idealization that is difficult, if not impossible to be met in the case of historical texts. This is because in the societies of the past literacy is the privilege of a minority and writing is used much less than it is today; therefore the texts that do get written are not recordings of everyday conversation, but texts that are felt by the people of the period to be important and worth preserving. Such texts are, for example: great literary monuments, texts of major religious significance (e.g. the Bible or the Rig-Veda), legally binding charters and documents, or commemorative inscriptions (funerary, dedicatory etc.). In fact, the historical linguist is faced with a paradox: the more likely it is for a text to be preserved until today, the less likely it is for it to be useful for linguistic research. And of course one has always to keep in mind that writing down is not the same thing as recording sound: the writer has to have had several

years of education and training, which, in past periods, is always on the basis of high, elaborated model texts, inevitably influencing his diction and his style of writing (a process known by the German term *Verschriftlichung*).[10]

There is another factor that makes access to the linguistic utterances of the past even more difficult: because texts, excepting the case of inscriptions, are usually recorded on perishable material (parchment or paper), the only way to ensure preservation is successive copying. This means that what the modern researcher has at his disposal is not what the original creator of the document actually wrote, but instead the product of several "hands", who have lived in different times and different areas each and have put their own mark on the text.[11]

To give a concrete example of this: the investigation of the evolution of the participle in Medieval Greek, and in particular the development of the innovative uninflected form in -*οντα* requires the study of Early Medieval texts such as John Malalas and Leontios of Neapolis, who constitute one of the few available sources for the earliest stages of the change. However, statistical counts of the older inflected vs. the innovative uninflected form are very difficult to conduct in this type of texts:

> the text of the critical edition of the Life of St. John the Almsgiver, 6th c. (Gelzer, 1893) prints 6 cases of the neuter participle with the new -onta ending ... and there are alternative readings in -onta in 3 more cases, to be spotted only by checking the apparatus (at 50.6, 87.22 and 97.15). However, the manuscript tradition (the 6mss., ABCDEF, used in the edition) is unanimous in none of these cases: three appear only in A, two only in C, one only in E, one in ACEF and one in ABCE. It is thus impossible to guess which and how many of those stood in the original text, and which are readings introduced by a later copyist. On the other hand, the text of Malalas is preserved in only one manuscript, of the 12th c., and thus the lack of corroborating manuscript evidence makes it another kind of insecure textual witness.[12]

[10] O. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal Perspectives* (Oxford, 2007), p. 38 and references therein.

[11] For a fuller discussion of these issues as applied to Greek see I. Manolessou "On Historical linguistics, Linguistic Variation and Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), 63-79 and references therein, esp. S. Fleischmann "'Methodologies and ideologies in historical linguistics: on working with older languages', in S. C. Herring – P. van Reenen – L. Schøsler (eds.), *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 33–58. See also Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, ch. 1.

[12] I. Manolessou "From participles to gerunds", in M. Stavrou – A. Terzi (eds.), *Advances in Greek generative syntax* (Amsterdam, 2005), pp. 241-283 at p. 247.

So, having consciously put aside requirements (a) and (d), and being aware that (b), although desirable, is only an approximation, one is left only with requirement (c) to ensure at least a minimum of reliability: the historical linguist is aiming for a form of language that can be acquired by the simple fact of someone's being born and growing up in a certain linguistic community, and that does not need years of training and practice to be mastered. Again, as described above, the very fact of learning to read and write excludes the possibility that the author is completely uneducated and has not been subject to any influence from a more elaborated code. But there certainly are degrees of education and degrees of influence from more elaborated codes, and preference is always given to the lower end of the scale.

Apart from the above, historical linguistics requires additional conditions to ensure reliability of the data on which conclusions and theoretical hypotheses will be based, since, as discussed above, the four basic criteria are difficult to be met. In order to identify the origin and track the spread of changes, preference is given to texts that are a) localizable in space and time, i.e. dated and of known geographical provenance and b) statistically representative, i.e. constituting a sample that contains different ages, social classes and genders. The first requirement is the main cause of preference for non-literary over literary texts: it is usually texts like legal documents or private letters that mention time and place of composition, and not literary creations, which have come down to us through copying by anonymous successive editors. Also, non-literary documents are less likely to be subjected to copying and editorial distortion, and more likely to be published in diplomatic editions, which provide the linguist with a more complete picture of the actual text.

The second requirement, representativeness, is the more difficult to achieve the further back in time one goes. Apart from gender, a historical sample is usually skewed also for age and social class: it overwhelmingly represents men of a certain age and a certain level of education.

With respect to the above discussed criteria and conditions, learned Byzantine literature can hardly be considered a useful primary material for research on language change: it is written in a language form far removed from the everyday medium of communication of the language community, it is the result of long training, it is subject only to conscious change, it is representative of only a small sample of the population, it has come down to us through the manipulation of copyists and editors, etc etc. For example, not many women writers come to mind for the Byzantine period, except Kassia and Anna Comnena; and as for

representativeness, the learned writers and their audience must have represented a very small minority indeed. In the words of Cyril Mango, Byzantine society was divided in three strata, "a tiny intellectual élite, a larger public of relative literacy and a huge mass of the illiterate, amounting, at a rough guess, to over ninety-five per cent of the population".[13]

Narrowing the field even further from general theory of historical change to the specific history of the Greek language, the next question to be asked is what the contribution of learned Byzantine literature in this domain can be, considering that it covers considerable time, about a thousand years, of Greek language history.

3. Byzantine Literature and Greek Language History

Investigating the history of the Greek language involves setting the same questions raised above, with specific reference to Greek. These include the structure of the phonological system of Greek in each period (phonological contrasts, major changes, conditioning factors), the evolution of nominal and verbal inflection (structure of paradigms, innovative suffixes, geographical distribution of new forms) and derivation, the syntactic structure of the language (possible constituents, word-order etc.), and the composition of the lexicon (obsolescence of lexical items, creation of new lexical items through internal derivational processes or through borrowing), and the genesis of dialectal differentiation.

In order to answer these questions, what is required is texts that will be able to mirror these phenomena as faithfully as possible, and this is the reason why texts close to spoken language (termed vernacular, vulgar, demotic, popular, modern etc.[14] – the rationale behind these not

[13] C. Mango "Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium" in M. Mullet – R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979* (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 48-57, at p. 49.

[14] See M. Hinterberger, "How should we define vernacular literature?", paper delivered at the at the conference *"Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek",* University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006 (available from: http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/pdf/Hinterberger.pdf [2 July 2012], pp. 1-16), for these terminological issues, and contrast M. Jeffreys "Modern Greek in the 11th century – or what else should we call it?" *Κάμπος – Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 15 (2007), 61-89 and T. A. Kaplanis "'Modern Greek' in 'Byzantium'? The notion of 'early modern' in Greek studies", in E. Close – G. Couvalis – G. Frazier – M. Palaktsoglou – M. Tsianikas (eds.), *"Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 7th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders*

precisely defined terms is that the texts should fulfill, as far as possible, the criteria described above) have always been preferred. What follows, however, is a short overview of what kind of information concerning the above questions can be collected not from vernacular, but from learned Byzantine texts.

Two preliminary observations are in order: "learned Byzantine literature" is a cover-term that encompasses texts written over a period of a thousand years, in many different styles, and in different degrees of "learnedness" or "archaism". But from the fact that they adhere to an extant observable model (observable because there are grammatical treatises describing it and there are ancient and Hellenistic texts and authors embodying it) they have many common characteristics, and so they can to a certain extent be examined together, ignoring the parameter of time. However, the "non-learned" texts of the same period can always serve as a measure of comparison of how distanced the language of the "learned" texts is from actual spoken usage, and this distanciation widens with the passage of time. As a result, a relatively early Byzantine text, e.g. Malalas or Theophanes Confessor might be very close or even almost identical in linguistic form with a text written five or six hundred years later- but the data provided by the first should be accorded much more value and attention than those provided by the second, because they will be closer to the linguistic "reality" of the period. So it is not the form of the text itself, on its own, that is important, but its relative "closeness" or distanciation from the spoken language of the period, which increases with the passage of time, and as it does the value of the testimony of the learned texts correspondingly decreases.

The second point is related to the first: as evidence for the history of Greek, the learned Byzantine texts cannot be used on their own. What they have to offer in this respect is corroboration, for phenomena attested more directly from other sources. If a linguistic phenomenon is not also attested either in the vernacular texts of the same period or does not survive in later Greek and its dialects, the testimony of the learned texts

University June 2007 (Adelaide, 2009), pp. 343-356. In recent years, there is a tendency to characterise simply "Medieval" the spoken Greek language of this period, as opposed to the term "Byzantine" reserved for the learned language. See D. Holton – I. Manolessou, "Medieval and Modern Greek", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 539-563 and Rollo, "'Greco medievale' e 'greco bizantino'". The distinction is expressed strikingly in the titles of the dictionaries of E. Trapp, dedicated to the learned language (*Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität Vienna, 1995-*) and E. Kriaras, dedicated to the vernacular (*Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας Thessaloniki, 1968-*).

is insufficient, and the phenomenon will either not be comprehensible within the isolated context of learned Greek or will be irrelevant to the historical development of the language.

The closest analogy to this situation is provided by Latin: studying Medieval Latin in order to understand the history of the French or the Italian language is possible, but much less fruitful than studying Old French or Old Italian texts. On the other hand, studying Medieval Latin in order to understand Medieval Latin is not a primary goal of theoretical linguistics, because this linguistic form presents similar properties to learned Byzantine Greek: acquisition only through education and not as a native language, use mostly in high level (scientific, theological etc. genres), resistance to change, imitation of past forms of language. As a result, linguistic studies of Medieval Latin do not abound in the international literature. Yet, because Medieval Latin must have been more widely used as a spoken means of communication than learned Byzantine Greek, and shows at least some systematic diatopic and diachronic variation, there have been produced several grammatical descriptions of it.[15]

3.1. Phonology

The level of phonology is actually the one where learned and non-learned forms of Greek differ the least. The scholars of the Hellenistic and the Byzantine period were not aware that the language that served as their model, Ancient Greek, had an entirely different phonological system (length distinctions in vowels and consonants, aspirated stops instead of fricatives etc.) and so they pronounced both "original" Ancient Greek and the ancient-like Greek of their own creation with the current pronunciation of the period,[16] which included all the major phonological changes that had taken place by the end of the Hellenistic era. So to all intents and purposes, the phonological inventory (i.e. the list of phonemes) and the overall system (i.e. the interrelationships and contrasts

[15] Although, in contrast to Byzantine Greek, full descriptions of this linguistic form are available, e.g. D. Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médieval* (Paris, 1968), and especially the recently completed major series, P. Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters.* 5Bde., Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II.5 (Munich, 1996-2004).

[16] It was this "modern" pronunciation that was transmitted to the West through the Byzantine scholars fleeing Constantinople; the reconstruction of Ancient Greek pronunciation is an acquisition of Western Renaissance scholarship. For an overview of classical pronunciation and its teaching in later periods see W. S. Allen, *Vox Graeca. The pronunciation of Classical Greek* (Cambridge, 1987).

between phonemes) of the learned and non-learned varieties of Greek during the Byzantine period were identical.

Where the two systems differed was in their phonotactics, i.e. the possible positions of the various phonemes in the word, and the various innovative conditioned changes (changes of one phoneme into another in specific phonetic contexts). For example, learned Byzantine Greek allows /r/ as a final consonant (e.g. σωτήρ ~ σωτήρας), whereas non-learned Greek does not. Similarly, it allows sequences of consecutive stops, e.g. /pt/, /kt/, whereas non-learned Greek does not, but instead changes them into sequences of stop + fricative, e.g. /ft/, /xt/ etc (e.g. πτωχός ~ φτωχός). The mixed "learned" phonological system resulting from the combination of innovative (post-Hellenistic) pronunciation with the ancient phonotactic rules creates complex combinations of sounds that never existed in the "real" linguistic system of any period, and are actually quite hard to pronounce,[17] for example: /fspl/ εὐσπλαχνία, /fθm/ κλαυθμός, /nðr/ Ἀλέξανδρος, /nsθ/ πανσθενής.

On the other hand, the various conditioned changes of the Medieval period, such as the change of /i/ > /e/ next to a liquid (e.g. σίδηρος > σίδερο), of /l/ > /r/ before consonant (e.g. ἀδελφός > ἀδερφός)[18] are consciously suppressed in learned texts, with very occasional slips. Because such phenomena deviate strongly from the Classical norm, they are usually pointed out by modern editors of learned texts in the introduction or, if available, in the *Index Graecitatis*.

In general, learned texts are not a good source for observing phonetic changes. First and foremost, they are available to us in critical and not in diplomatic editions, and therefore spelling errors (the betrayers of the true sound of words) have been corrected by the editors, and may not even be mentioned in the apparatus (for example the frequent "iotacistic" orthography confusing <ει> <η> <ι> <υ> <οι>).[19] Secondly, in any

[17] These sound sequences are aptly termed "pseudo-ancient" by P. Mackridge, *Modern Greek* (Oxford, 1985), p. 29. The complex phonological situation, presenting a "mixture" of Ancient and Modern phonological rules has been inherited by Standard Modern Greek, for which see also P. Mackridge, "Modern Greek" in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek language* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 564-587, at pp. 571-572.

[18] For the main innovative phonetic changes of Medieval Greek see Holton – Manolessou, "Medieval and early Modern Greek" and references therein, esp. B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect. A study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge, 1972).

[19] Except of course in the case of archival documents, which are normally published in diplomatic editions.

case, there are far less spelling errors in learned than in vernacular texts. This is because the author is always highly educated, having at his disposal the observable models of the Ancient and Koine texts, as well as the instructional backing of the Hellenistic and Byzantine grammatical tradition (grammars and lexica). Thirdly, learned authors consciously avoid lexical items which bear witness to phonetic change, i.e. which have a vernacular form with phonetically altered stem (irrespective of its inflection, which can always be made to adapt to classical rules).

However, there are ways in which learned texts as well can be forced to betray phonetic changes. One is the mention of proper names or place-names in them, since their form has to be used as-is, without “undoing” the changes that have affected it. For example, despite their efforts to suppress foreign personal, ethnic and place-names, in learned authors cannot avoid including names with the new sound /ts/ (e.g. Τζιμισκής, Ἰβηρίτζης, Πατζινακίται), which certainly did not exist in Ancient or Hellenistic Greek.[20]

The second way is hypercorrection: because learned authors are aware of a certain phonetic change that has taken place in the linguistic community around them, they consciously try to avoid it, sometimes “correcting” even words that are actually not results of the change.[21] For example, the hypercorrection of the change /l/ > /r/ before consonant[22] leads to the unetymological form βάλκαι ‘boats’ (< lat. barca) in the History of Ducas (27.4.8, 34.12.9, 39.30.2, ed. Grecu), creating a form that never actually existed: νῆαι, τριήρεις, διήρεις, ***βάλκαι***, ἀκάτια, μὴ πλείτωσαν. Similarly, Anna Comnena calls one of the Normans in her father’s court Βουλχάρδος (3.10.4, 3.10.6, ed. Reinsch - Kambylis); his name is of course the very German *Burghard* (mod. Burghardt, Burckhardt).

20 Stamatios Psaltes, in his *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen 1913), pp. 134-135 provides an extensive list of proper and common nouns in Byzantine chronicles with the spelling <τζ> representing both [ts] and [dz]. On the introduction of the affricate /ts/ in the Greek phonological system see W. Dressler, “Zur historischen Phonologie des neugriechischen Konsonantismus”, in J. Hamm (ed.), *Phonologie der Gegenwart: Vorträge und Diskussionen anläßlich der Internationalen Phonologie-Tagung in Wien 30.8.-3.9.1966* (Graz, 1967), pp. 124-33 and D. Moutsos “Some observations on a phonological problem of middle and Modern Greek”, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 84 (1975), 235-64.

21 For the phenomenon in Greek see the detailed discussion in S. Jannaconne, “Sur l’hypercorrection en grec”, *Neophilologus* 35 (1951), 151-161.

22 The example from Ducas is from Psaltes, *Grammatik*, p. 99. For more details on the phenomenon of /l/ > /r/ see I. Manolessou – N. Toufexis, “Phonetic change in Medieval Greek: focus on liquid interchange” in *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Greek Linguistics, Ioannina, August 30th – September 2nd 2007* (Ioannina, 2009- [e-book]), pp. 291-306 and references therein.

If the author is not very educated, his attempt at a "correct" pronunciation may even create weird forms mystifying modern editors. For example, the hypercorrect forms ἀπτῶν and ἀπτὰ instead of αὐτῶν, αὐτὰ in a S. Italian archival document misled the editor into believing that he was dealing with a new dialectal form of the demonstrative/personal pronoun.[23]

Such indirect testimonies, compared to the direct attestations provided by vernacular texts, have two particular uses: first, they may assist the dating of the change, if they appear in texts dated, say, before the 12th c., because there are minimal, if any, vernacular texts before this time. So a hypercorrection of στ to σθ is useful to note in an author like Arethas (9th c.) but not in an author like Psellos (11th c.). Second, when they appear even in texts of the highest register, this proves how far the change has permeated the language and established itself, so that no type of texts and no amount of education can immunize you against it.

3.2. Morphology

The domain of morphology is the one where the divergence between high and low varieties of languages is at its greatest, and where the emulation of past models is easiest. Learned Byzantine texts make very few concessions to innovative inflectional endings, both in nominal and in verbal morphology.

In general, the nominal and verbal inflectional system of "learned" Byzantine Greek is a sort of a-chronic or pan-chronic Ancient Greek, which starts from Homer and ends with the Church Fathers of Late Antiquity. The preference for a certain alternative form over another may depend on the genre (e.g. poetry vs. rhetoric vs. theology vs. chronicle) or the degree of similarity of the form with actual spoken usage (more "different-looking" forms being preferable as markers of elevated style).[24]

[23] A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathé (Oppido): 1050-1064/1065* (Vatican, 1972), p. 57.

[24] An easily accessible list of mixed morphological and syntactic features in Byzantine authors is provided by G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin, 1957). See also H. Hunger, "The classical tradition in Byzantine literature: the importance of Rhetoric" in M. Mullet – R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979* (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 35-47.

In this respect, the morphological analysis of Byzantine Greek can be nothing else than an exhaustive descriptive list of the attested inflectional variants, which do not form a coherent system. Furthermore, because Ancient morphology is coupled with modern phonology (in the way described in the previous section), the resulting inflectional paradigms involve considerable homonymy which would have made them very dysfunctional in any actual language. Obvious examples are the 1st and 2nd pl. pronoun (ἡμεῖς-ὑμεῖς) which sound identical, or the active indicative and the subjunctive personal suffixes (and to a certain extent also the optative).

Of course learned Byzantine Greek is more than the simple addition and mixture of already extant Ancient Greek elements: it has a certain analogical creativity of its own, and includes formations not actually attested in Classical Greek, and not occurring in the vernacular language due to the demise of the formation pattern that created them. A typical example is the "passive future subjunctive",[25] which is rare and possibly inexistent in the classical language but presents several Byzantine attestations. Another characteristic instance is the monolectic pluperfect,[26] which, although belonging to the classical paradigm, displays in Byzantine authors an increased frequency, innovative semantics and special stylistic functions.

Learned morphology makes very few concessions to innovative inflectional patterns of the spoken language, disregarding, that is, discounting "scraps" of vernacular language inserted as quotations into an otherwise archaizing text.[27] Of the few elements of the contemporary language which are acceptable as parts of the learned language itself one is perhaps the neuter singular ending -ιν instead of -ιον, and, along with it, the diminutive suffixes -άριον/-άριν, -ίτσιν. Another example of an innovative inflectional pattern acceptable in learned texts are the masculine nouns in -ᾶς/-άδες, like φαγᾶς, Χειλᾶς, ἀββᾶς, Γρηγορᾶς, which one may consider as having an ancient (Ionic dialect) origin, but were

25 N. Nicholas "The Passive Future Subjunctive in Byzantine texts", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101 (2008), 89-131.

26 M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur. Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin – New York, 2007), pp. 107–142.

27 Hinterberger, "How should we define", p. 8. Standard examples include the early acclamations of the hippodrome (see Horrocks, *Greek*, pp. 327-33 for a linguistic analysis), the distich on Alexios Comnenos in *Alexiad* 2.4.9, and the proverb "Ἐγὼ σὲ ἔκτισα, φοῦρνε καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ χαλάσω» in the continuators of Skylitzes (104.21-105.1).

certainly rare and peripheral in Ancient Greek, whereas they are very frequent and basic in Medieval and Modern Greek.[28]

3.3. Syntax

Modern linguistics considers syntax as the core of the linguistic system, the backbone underlying a speaker's linguistic competence. Also, syntax is a less "conscious" level than morphology and therefore one that is harder to master for someone who is not a native speaker. Therefore, the syntactic structure of learned Byzantine Greek, insofar as it deviates greatly from that of the spoken language,[29] is of very limited interest for descriptive linguistics – it will reflect an imperfectly internalized and overgenerating system, with no in-built mechanisms guarding it against ungrammatical constructions.

Of course the ability to produce certain syntactic constructions will vary with time: for example, the loss of the dative case is usually dated around the 10th century, which means that dative case usage in learned texts, as well as over-use of the dative, ratio of dative complements replaced by the genitive or the accusative etc. are of great interest for the history of the Greek language up to that period,[30] but of limited interest thereafter. The fact that a 14th c. author uses the dative case more

[28] On -ios/-ion > -is/-in in Byzantine literature see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, pp. 43-48 and P. Yannopoulos, « Les neutres en -in dans la Chronique de Theophane. Un temoignage privilegié », in M. Billerbeck – J. Schamp (eds.), *Kainotomia. Die Erneuerung der griechischen Tradition. Colloqium P. Tzermias (4.IX.95)* (Fribourg/Freiburg, 1996), pp. 57-68. On the inflectional suffixes of masculine nouns in –as with final accentuation and plural – δες see G. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 385-387, A. Jannaris, *A Greek Grammar, chiefly of the Attic dialect* (London, 1897), § 290b and Psaltes, *Grammatik*, pp. 168-169, where the earliest examples from Byzantine authors are collected.

[29] It is true of course that a number of Byzantine authors whose language displays undeviating conservative classical Greek morphology may have a simple paratactic syntax which resembles that of modern Greek (e.g. Sphrantzes and Kanabutzes – see Hinterberger, "How should we define"); but it is doubtful whether these authors would come under the heading "learned" Byzantine Greek in any case.

[30] See S. Wahlgren "Modern Greek in the 10th c. AD", in V. Sabatakakis – P. Vejleskov (eds.), *Filia, Studies in honour of Bo-Lennart Eklund* (Lund, 2005), pp. 177-182, for statistics in 10th c. authors, and T. Lendari – I. Manolessou, "Η εκφορά του έμμεσου αντικειμένου στα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά. Γλωσσολογικά και εκδοτικά προβλήματα". *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 23nd* [sic] *Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2003), pp. 394-405 for bibliography and description of the situation in vernacular texts.

extensively than Isocrates and Plutarch[31] only contributes a secondary, and late, corroboration of the fact that the dative has been dead for some centuries.

The same can be said for other major grammatical categories, such as the infinitive and the participle: because there is no native speaker intuition behind these constructions, they are acceptable as evidence for linguistic history only insofar as they are corroborated by similar constructions in vernacular texts or in later forms of the language. The infinitive is a case in point: recent research has shown that some infinitival constructions (mainly complements of verbs denoting will, desire, ability, when the subject of the verb and the subject of the infinitive are identical) survived even after the end of the medieval period, and are actually maintained in some peripheral Modern Greek dialects.[32] The study of infinitive usage in learned Byzantine texts can actually help to show the gradual process of loss of the other infinitival constructions, and is extremely useful in texts up to the 10th-11th c.[33] But the full array of the available infinitival constructions of learned texts and the complex syntactic constructions that can be constructed are secondary to the history of the language.

3.4. Lexicon

The domain of the lexicon is the one which, as historical linguistic studies have shown, changes the fastest – it only takes a few years for new vocabulary elements or new meanings to be adopted, whereas it usually takes several decades for phonological, morphological or syntactic changes to set in. The vocabulary changes in order to reflect the extralinguistic world: new concepts, new technological advances, new social situations require new vocabulary, whereas obsolete objects and situations, when forgotten, take their vocabulary with them. Furthermore,

[31] Statistics on Theodore Metochites and Matthew of Ephesus from Wahlgren, "Byzantine literary language", p. 206 repeated in Wahlgren, "Byzantine literature", p. 536-537.

[32] On the evolution of the infinitive see briefly Holton and Manolessou, "Medieval and Early Modern Greek" at pp. 548-550 and in more detail P. Mackridge, "The Medieval Greek infinitive in the light of dialectal evidence" in C. N. Constantinides – N. M. Panagiotakis – E. Jeffreys – A. D. Angelou (eds.), *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in honour of R. Browning* (Venice, 1997), pp. 191-204 and B. Joseph, "Textual Authenticity: Evidence from Medieval Greek", in S. C. Herring – P. van Reenen – L. Schøsler (eds.), *Textual Parameters in Older Languages* (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 309–29.

[33] See S. Wahlgren "Modern Greek", at pp. 180-181 and especially J. Kavčič, *The Syntax of the Infinitive and the Participle in Early Byzantine Greek* (Ljubljana, 2005).

the lexicon is the domain which is the least resistant to borrowing, i.e. where the influence of foreign languages is most easily accepted.

It comes as no surprise then that the lexicon is the one domain for which learned and vernacular Greek are of roughly the same interest for modern linguistics, since they are almost equally subject to change. What is of interest is both the changes in native vocabulary (new meanings for old words, new native words created on the basis of extant derivational patterns) and borrowing (the influence of Latin, and later Old French, Venetian, Turkish etc.). Although Byzantine authors tried to avoid using linguistic elements not attested in the classical sources, it is possible to find new technical terms, loanwords and even colloquial expression even in the most atticising authors such as Anna Comnena.[34]

Lexical change can be investigated thanks to the advances in Byzantine lexicography (dictionaries such as those of Sophocles and Trapp)[35] and to the electronic corpus of the TLG, which is in the last years growing enormously in the direction of later Greek, and in fact in actual size it now contains more textual material from the Byzantine than from the Classical period.[36]

However, the lexicography of learned Byzantine texts does suffer from a serious shortcoming: one of the main editorial principles of the only dictionary specifically dedicated to learned byzantine Greek, the *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität (LBG)*,[37] as stated in its introduction, is not to include words that already exist in Ancient Greek or in Patristic literature, and thus have already been treated in the dictionaries of Liddell-Scott-Jones and Lampe. The *LBG* is therefore not a complete and autonomous dictionary of the Greek language during the Byzantine period, but a complement of other dictionaries.[38]

[34] On this see Hunger, "The classical tradition", p. 47. On the vernacular elements in Anna Comnena see also S. Antoniadi, « Presence de la langue grecque moderne dans l'Alexiade d'Anne (Comnène) », in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucarest, 1976), v.III, pp. 683-87.

[35] See E. Trapp, "Lexicography and electronic textual resources", in E. Jeffreys – J. Haldon – R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 95-100 and J. Kramer, "Stand und Perspektiven der historischen Lexikographie des Byzantinischen Griechisch", *Lexicographica* 27 (2011), 31-44.

[36] The TLG is an invaluable tool for lexical research, although its applicability to diachronic investigations of phonology, morphology and syntax is more limited, due to its practice of providing only the editor's text without the apparatus criticus.

[37] E. Trapp (ed.), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1994-).

[38] As aptly noted by D. Reinsch in his review of the first volume, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89 (1996), pp. 497-500, it is therefore a Lexikon *zur* and not *der* byzantini-

To a certain extent, this principle is understandable: inclusion would entail considerable repetition of information an enormous increase in both the size of the dictionary and the time required for its completion. However, it has in fact a serious negative result, as the use of the Greek language in learned Byzantine literature is in fact not represented in any dictionary at all. Since the *LBG* does not contain basic vocabulary items such as ἅγιος, αἷμα, ἄνθρωπος, βαρύς, βασιλεύς, γλυκύς, δέκα, ἔχω, πτωχός, ῥόδον, σημεῖον, σκληρός, σκοτεινός, σοφός, στόμα, σῶμα etc., the necessary information on these words during the Byzantine period cannot be found in dictionaries and can only be acquired through primary research using the TLG. By necessary information is meant here the data required by historical lexicography in order to form a full picture of the diachrony and the consecutive synchronies of a lexical item; these include frequent or characteristic collocations, typical examples of use, subtle nuances of meaning, metaphorical applications, well-known or striking quotations etc. for all periods. It also requires negative information, i.e. which of the ancient uses or meanings *do not* occur in Byzantine texts, a type of information which again cannot be provided by the extant lexicographical works.

From the point of view of modern historical linguistics, the declared aim of the LBG "to dig out a large number of new and rare words from thousands of editions"[39] is a secondary and marginal enterprise at best. The collection of hundreds of obscure artificial *hapax legomena* (such as ἀνθρωποπετεινόμορφος, βριαροχειρόπους, λαρυγγοφλασκοξεστοχανδοεκπότης, προβατοχειροδεκατία etc.), most of them individual formations pushing linguistic creativity to the limits, mixing formative constituents from different periods, and used minimally or not at all within the broader linguistic community, contribute towards the understanding of the historical morphology and semantics of Greek much less than basic and central vocabulary items.

4. Metalinguistic Information Provided by Byzantine Authors

The Byzantine period has a rich grammatical tradition, which is justly appreciated by modern scholarship for its contribution to the preserva-

schen Gräzität. See also the book review of the 7th volume by I. Manolessou, *Byzantinoslavica* 71 (2013), pp. 378-383.

39 Trapp, "Lexicography", p. 98.

tion of ancient scholarship, the preservation of excerpts of ancient textual fragments, the detailed knowledge of the Ancient Greek language, and even the development of theoretical linguistic thought.[40] However, when it comes to providing grammatical and linguistic information concerning the spoken language of the period they were living in, Byzantine authors do not have much to contribute. In the words of Herbert Hunger "*gebildete byzantinische Autoren (waren) gegen Umgangssprache und zeitgenössische Dialekte allergisch*".[41] All Greek grammars written in the Byzantine period proper, i.e. prior to the 15th c., aim to describe and to teach Ancient Greek, mainly Attic, occasionally with excursions on the other ancient dialects such as Doric, Aeolic etc. and not their contemporary language. Of course, it is true that their sometimes extreme insistence on certain aspects of Ancient Greek, such as prosody/accentuation and case usage indicates the areas which had changed the most during the development of Greek and which, therefore, a Greek learner needed most help with. But this information is more easily accessible through more direct sources.

A rare exception to the silence of Byzantine grammarians and philologists concerning their contemporary language is Eustathios of Thessaloniki, whose works, although dealing with Ancient Greek, are interspersed with comparisons and parallels with the modern language (which he terms 'corrupt' and 'vulgar').[42]

[40] This topic has been exhaustively studied by Robert H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: their place in history* (Berlin and New York 1993). See also the shorter overview R. H. Robins, "Greek linguistics in the Byzantine period", in S. Auroux – E. F. K. Koerner – H.-J. Niederehe – K. Versteegh (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences*, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 18.1, vol. 1 (Berlin – New York, 2000), pp. 417-423.

[41] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2, (Munich 1978), p. 4. See also E. Trapp "Lexicography" p. 95. H. Hunger goes on to mention the only tangible example of an observation by a Byzantine author concerning a spoken modern dialect of his period, the complaint of Michael Choniates against Athenian dialectal forms such as the pronouns ἀτοῦνος and τεῦτος (which, incidentally, are corroborated by modern dialectal evidence). On the topic see S. Kapsomenos, *Από την ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 58-59.

[42] The information concerning vernacular language in the work of Eustathios (phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary) has been painstakingly collected in Ph. Koukoules, *Εὐσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ γραμματικά* (Athens, 1953). See also V. Rotolo, "Eustazio e greco volgare", *La Memoria* 3 (1984), 343-58.

5. Learned Byzantine Literature and Sociolinguistics / Contact Linguistics

The survey up to now has not been very positive concerning the validity of learned Byzantine texts as objects of theoretical linguistic study. This, as shown, derives from the aims of the branches of linguistics examined so far, which require specific types of primary material. But in fact there *are* branches of modern linguistics for which learned Byzantine texts would constitute prime targets, although so far research has not progressed far in this direction.

These are sociolinguistics and contact linguistics, i.e. exactly those branches which investigate the interaction between different linguistic systems, either "high" and "low" varieties of the same language, or different languages. These branches set questions like the following: how does the native system, the first language, interfere with the acquisition of the second language, in each level (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon)? What conditions make a speaker competent in both varieties switch between one and the other (code-switching)? What makes a certain variety acquire prestige? What factors determine variation between two alternative but equivalent forms, belonging to different linguistic varieties? How does the standardization of a language affect its normal tendency to change and evolve? How does the meta-linguistic history of the language change along with the linguistic one, i.e. how does the view, description and understanding of the learned language by contemporaries, as expressed by grammatical, lexicographical and philological treatises of the period, change along with their native language system?[43]

For this type of questions, the study of learned Byzantine Greek would constitute an ideal field of study. For this to work, one would first need to have a good knowledge of both, or rather of all simultaneous varieties of Greek, i.e. the low, the high and their intermediaries, so as to be able to observe and understand their interaction. A lot of work is being done on the lower end of the scale, but it is time to work on the higher end of the scale as well.

A final, and important, point: even if it is admitted that learned Byzantine texts are the imperfect result of second language acquisition, and that they consciously aim to reproduce a no longer extant linguistic

[43] On these issues see R. Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th edition (Malden 2006), ch. 3 "Codes: Diglossia – Bilingualism and Multilingualism – Code-switching"? and for literature pertaining to Greek see Toufexis, "Diglossia".

norm, the fact remains that they cannot be fully understood by recourse only to the rules of classical grammar. A characteristic example is provided by M. Hinterberger's study of counterfactuals in learned Byzantine authors,[44] who shows that although the forms are classical, the syntactic constructions formed by them are to a certain extent innovative (a phenomenon discussed by S. Wahlgren under the heading 'conceptual classicism').[45] This means that for the discipline of Byzantine studies to advance, the detailed comparative linguistic investigation of the language of the learned texts is a necessary presupposition. The discussion here only intends to show that this language has never been the object of preference for certain scholarly fields, such as general and historical theoretical linguistics, due to their special requirements, not that it is an object unworthy of study *per se*. On the contrary, for the fuller understanding of the meaning of the texts and the evaluation of the author's expressive and stylistic aims, the study of learned Byzantine grammar is long overdue.

Summary

The paper discusses the rarity of recent linguistic approaches to learned Byzantine literature, attributing it to necessity of modern synchronic and diachronic linguistics to rely on texts which are closer to spoken / everyday language, as a means to approach more directly the mechanisms of language use and language change. The potential contribution of learned Byzantine texts to specific sub-fields of Greek historical linguistics (phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary) is examined on the basis of concrete examples. Finally, their value for other linguistic fields such as sociolinguistics and contact linguistics is stressed.

44 M. Hinterberger, "» Ich wäre schon längst Mönch geworden, wenn nicht ... « oder Die Macht des Kontrafaktischen", in K. Belke – E. Kislinger – A. Külzer – M. A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2007), pp. 245-256.

45 Wahlgren, "Byzantine literature", p. 530, following Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", p. 107.

MARILENA KARYOLEMOU

WHAT CAN SOCIOLINGUISTICS TELL US ABOUT LEARNED LITERARY LANGUAGES?

Introduction: Literary Language and Literariness

What exactly is a literary language? A simple definition might be: "a language that is used in literary texts or for literary purposes"; but this definition presupposes a universally accepted definition of a literary text. And although we are, *grosso modo*, capable of distinguishing a literary from a non-literary text, let's say a poem or a narrative from an administrative document, a legal text or a contract, it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to actually define a literary text. Roman Jakobson argued that "literariness" has specific formal characteristics that can only be found in certain types of texts: repetition, recursion of features, metaphoric use, structural parallelisms, foregrounding and many other linguistic processes that emphasize the form used to convey a message rather than its content.[1] Such an emphasis, Jakobson argues, although also found in texts that cannot be considered literary, such as slogans, nursery rhymes, advertisements, etc., predominates only in literary texts. *Defamiliarization* or *estrangement* – i.e., the use of language in ways that diverge from trivial, everyday use, in other words, the extra-ordinary use of language – is, according to Victor Shklovsky (another representative of formal linguistics), the main characteristic of a literary text.[2] These positions, however, have been challenged in more recent years by critical approaches underlining that literariness is not a property of texts – nor of language, as a matter of fact – but a constructed view of the text and thus involves both the writer and the reader; as a result, any text could be considered a literary text.

[1] R. Jakobson, "La nouvelle poésie russe", in idem, *Questions de poétique* (Paris, 1973; translation of *Novejshaja ruskago poèzija*, Prag, 1921).

[2] V. Shklovsky, "Art as technique", in L. T. Lemon – M. J. Reiss (eds.), *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965), pp. 3-24 (translation of "Iskustvo kak priem", in *Poètika, Sborniki po teorii poètičeskogo jazyka*, Petrograd, 1917/1919).

We could also try to define a literary text according to the purposes or aims it serves. But again, is there such a thing as a unique or diachronic literary aim? Depending on time and place, a literary text may foster collective memory, generate real or symbolic power for those who encode or decode it, entertain those who read it, help people overcome the compelling character of language, or all these things at the same time. In other words, the aims of literary texts are multiple and may change over time.

We could of course give many other answers and insist, for instance, on the distinction between the instrumental or informative function of non-literary texts vs the non-instrumental or expressive function of literary texts; on the polysemic character of literary texts as compared to the monosemic character of instrumental texts; on the 'placelessness' and timelessness of literary texts vs the temporal and local anchorage of non-literary texts, etc.

1. Literary Languages and Sociolinguistic Function

From the point of view of functional sociolinguistics, however, I would dare to say that there is no such thing as a literary language: instead, there are languages that fulfill a literary function within a society and others that do not; there are languages that have only a literary function, others that have *also* a literary function and others that do not have any literary function at all. Seen from this angle, the term *literary* concerns a *sociolinguistic function,* not a *linguistic attribute* or *quality*. Languages are not literary per se: they serve as literary languages in the same way that they may serve as religious languages, as languages of education, as vernacular languages, as languages of wider communication, etc. The decision as to which language will fulfill the literary function is *socially* and *not linguistically* driven. In other words, there are no innate linguistic merits that guide a society in its decision to use one variety for literary purposes and not another one/other ones. Although we sense that literary languages are somehow *better languages, more elaborate* and *more valued*, it is not true that they carry some inherent linguistic values. As a matter of fact, value or prestige and elaboration are often the outcomes of the use of a language for literary production, not a prerequisite for its use as a literary language. Furthermore, a language does not have a static literary function. In other words, a language may be given a literary function at some point in its history to serve specific purposes or fulfill

specific needs; in the same way, it may lose its literary function under specific circumstances.

Let's take Occitan for instance: during Medieval times, Occitan was well understood by most of the educated elite throughout Europe, and it was quite widespread and extensively used by troubadours and trobairitz (female troubadours) in their lyric productions. The decline of the Occitan society, and the spread of French d'oil (Parisian French) as the language of the French kings and the nobility, as well as its imposition as an administrative and legislative language from the 16th century onwards, had as a consequence the gradual decline and finally the silencing of Occitan for more than five centuries. The French Revolution contributed to the decline of the language by promoting the learning of French d'oil as a democratic right and encouraging its use as a lawful duty for all citizens in the service of their country. It was not until the Félibrige movement in the middle of the nineteenth century that the literary function of Occitan was reinstated, but the language never recovered the dynamism and vigour it enjoyed in medieval times.

Another example is Scots, a Germanic language spoken in Lowland Scotland and in Ulster, and used as a literary language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although Scots was intermittently used in literature throughout the centuries, increasing Anglicization beginning in the mid-sixteenth century caused it to become a nearly extinct language; even today it is very often believed wrongly to be a dialect of English.

Related to the idea that *literary language* refers to a social function and not to a linguistic attribute, is the widespread agreement among scholars in the field of language policy and planning that this function needs to be fulfilled for a language to gain social prestige and widespread recognition among speakers. In other words, it is an important function that vernacular languages need to fulfil to become standardized languages, since it ensures structural stability, systematicity and elaboration. As the history of most western European languages shows, there are two important conditions for a variety to become a standard language: its use in the area of legislation and the development of a sustainable body of literary texts.

2. Language Duality and Literary Production

The theory of sociolinguistic functions allows us to move away from static descriptions of the languages spoken within a society to describe in

a more dynamic way the linguistic repertoire of a community, i.e., the variety of languages in the variety of functions they fulfill. Thus, we realise that it is not uncommon to find that two varieties of the same language are used for different social functions. In such cases, the variety with the highest prestige (high variety), often also a learned variety, is used as a literary language leaving a limited field of literary action to the variety with a lower prestige (low variety), most times a vernacular.

Such a *linguistic duality* has been a constant feature of the Greek language throughout its history: classicizing and vernacular varieties of Greek evolved in parallel long before the existence of the well known *diglossia* – a term coined by Yiannis Psycharis to describe the language conflict between the formal katharevoussa and the spoken dhimotiki, in the late eighteen and early nineteen centuries. The parallel development of archaic and vernacular varieties of Greek had important consequences in many areas of human activity, including literary production: we know, for instance, that many writers who initiated their first literary works in dhimotiki gradually reverted to katharevoussa, either because they were convinced of its superiority over dhimotiki or out of fear of being socially stigmatized and marginalised: Alexandros Ragkavis' first poems, *Δήμος κι Ελένη*, *Ο Κλέφτης, Η Ταξιδεύτρια, Ο Θάνατος του παληκαριού*, are composed in a literary dimotiki; yet his subsequent poetic works, e.g., *Διονυσίου πλους, Ο γοργός ιέραξ, Το Ρόδον*, are written in an archaizing katharevoussa. Between the first edition of his poem *Οδοιπόρος* in 1830 and the fifth edition in 1835, Panayotis Soutsos shifted to a language that was, in his words, "worked according to the ancients".[3]

The opposite is also true: Kostis Palamas, the bard of Modern Greece, used katharevoussa in his first published works but soon reverted to dhimotiki. In 1791 Daniil Filippidis wrote his *Γεωγραφία νεωτερική* in dhimotiki, but his *Ιστορία και Γεωγραφικόν της Ρουμουννίας*, published in 1816 was written in archaic Greek; Andreas Karkavitsas's first novel, *Η Λυγερή*, published in *Εστία* in 1890, was in katharevoussa, but his novel *Ο ζητιάνος,* written in 1897, and his subsequent books, were in dimotiki. Some writers' choice of language variety depended on whether they were composing poetry or prose: Georgios Tertsetis's poetry was written in the vernacular (and in Italian), but his prose in katharevoussa, whereas Georgios Zalokostas used both varieties in his writings.[4]

3 Cf. P. Mackridge, *Language and identity in Greece, 1766-1976* (Oxford, 2010).

4 For these and other examples, see Mackridge, *Language and identity*, esp. pp. 97, 152, 168, 177 and 231.

It seems, therefore, that in dual language situations, educated people can make use of both the learned and the vernacular variety in writing. While such an assertion might be interpreted as an either/or case, the situation is in reality much more complex, especially when rapid or extensive social changes tend to dilute and reshape class distinctions: the boundary between what is learned and what is naturally acquired is not always easy to establish.

When André Mirambel visited Greece in the mid-1930s, he described the rather confusing linguistic situation resulting from the coexistence of dhimotiki and katharevoussa in terms of five different varieties of Greek: 1. *καθαρεύουσα*, the archaic language, 2. *μεικτή*, a mixed variety, basically a katharevoussa that integrates elements of the spoken language, 3. *καθομιλουμένη*, the ordinarily spoken language that integrates elements of katharevoussa, 4. *δημοτική*, the vernacular language 5. *μαλλιαρή* ("hairy"), an uncompromised version of dhimotiki.[5] Fred Householder, who visited Greece more than 30 years later, accounted for the existence of 11 varieties of Greek:[6] 1. extreme (archaic) katharevoussa, 2. ordinary katharevoussa, 3. mild katharevoussa, 4. moderate or simple katharevoussa, 5. popularised (form of) katharevoussa, 6. extreme (conversational) dhimotiki, 7. official dhimotiki, 8. journalistic dhimotiki, 9. moderate dhimotiki, 10. mildly purified dhimotiki, and finally, 11. modified dhimotiki. Finally, in 1964, Dimitris Pappageotes and Costas Makris distinguished seven written and four spoken varieties of Greek.[7] Among the spoken varieties, they included: 1. rural or urban dialects, 2. urban vernacular varieties, 3. standard vernacular, 4. formal spoken Greek. Among written Greek: 1. Psycharian dhimotiki, 2. dhimotiki of contemporary writers, 3. dhimotiki as described in the *Γραμματική της Νεοελληνικής* of Manolis Triandafyllidis and in an important number of texts written after 1941, 4. journalistic dhimotiki as practised in popular magazines, 5. a purified variety as used in editorials and in local news bulletins, 6. a purified variety as used in international encounters and in administrative documents, 7. an archaic unified variety.

The above-mentioned classifications seem to suggest that katharevoussa and dhimotiki, in the last period of their coexistence at least, admitted

[5] A. Mirambel, "Les 'états de langue' dans la Grèce actuelle", *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris V* (1938), 19-53.

[6] F. Householder, "Greek Diglossia" *Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics* 15 (1962), 109-129.

[7] Cited in P. Daltas, "The concept of diglossia from a variationist point of view with reference to Greek" *Archivum Linguisticum* 11/2 (1980), 65-88, esp. pp. 68-69.

various degrees of dhimotiki-ness and katharevoussa-ness depending on the social and communicative contexts, as well as on the speaker/writer's personal convictions, interests and linguistic competence. The multiple levelling of language practices and the obvious mismatch between the various varieties that each researcher acknowledges – how many and which varieties render a proper count of linguistic practices in nineteenth and twentieth century Greece – give ample evidence of the existence of a highly variable situation marked by the diffusion of linguistic elements from one variety into the other. It is of course useless to try to advocate in favor of one or the other position, since what is obviously underlined in these descriptions is the fact that the diglossic scheme had evolved, with the two distinct varieties giving way to a *continuum of uses* where elements of katharevoussa became interwoven with elements of dhimotiki. It is, therefore, the quality and quantity of elements in each variety used that determine how close a text or a segment of speech is to dhimotiki or to katharevoussa. In other words, instead of placing each text in a linguistic category (e.g., "modified dhimotiki" or "archaic unified variety") that would be difficult to objectively delineate, it is preferable to determine its degree of dhimotiki-ness or katharevoussa-ness by setting a certain number of linguistic and quantitative criteria.

Charles Ferguson, who introduced the term "diglossia" into the field of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, when describing the diglossic situation in Haiti between French and Creole, clearly states that despite their functional differentiation within the Haitian society, the two languages blend together to create intermediate forms of speech or varieties, such as the so-called "créole de salon".[8] This observation is also valid for the Arabic diglossia in Egypt: here again Ferguson suggests, and quite accurately, that classical Arabic (*al-fusha*) and the so-called Egyptian dialect (*al-jammiyya*) intermingle to create an intermediate variety (simply called "arabe médian" or medium Arabic), which is more accessible than classical Arabic to those with lesser education and at the same time does not carry the disaffect and social stigma of the Egyptian dialect. The blending together of the diglossic varieties is due to the greater access to education of a wider segment of the population. It is these newly educated people who, in their pursuit of social advancement, are the agents of contact: they bring together the two varieties, thus fulfilling a necessary precondition for the emergence of mixed varieties. The situation thus described is not restricted to the

8 Ch. Ferguson, "Diglossia", *Word* 15/2 (1959), 325-340.

coexistence of katharevoussa and dimotiki: it is typical of any type of language coexistence that reveals uneven functional distribution, different modes of acquisition, variable status and prestige of the two varieties.

3. Literary Texts as Variable Linguistic Practices

One of the consequences of linguistic duality is *intralinguistic transposition*, that is, the 'translation' of a text into a more archaic or more colloquial language style. This tendency can be seen throughout the Byzantine period: on the one hand, vernacular texts are 'translated' into a more prestigious archaic form and on the other, archaic texts are 'translated' into some kind of vernacular variety: among the first group we can cite the *Grottaferrata* version of *Digenis Akritas* or some of the texts of Theodore Studites. Among the second group, we can count the *Escorial* version of *Digenis Akritas*, the *metaphraseis* of Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates's texts, as well as others.[9]

The use of an archaic variety of Greek in the production of literary texts was of course the expected norm (at least for some literary genres). Awareness about what is vernacular and what is archaic and where the limits between the two lie – supposing such limits existed – very much depended on the degree of literacy and level of education: what is vernacular for one archaizing writer might not be for another, and what is an old and archaizing feature for a writer writing in the vernacular might not be so for another. Highly archaizing forms such as the optative or the dual are usually avoided by less educated people and whenever they are used they are the sign of a highly educated person. But writers who had to learn how to use them – since the archaic variety was no longer part of the actual linguistic repertoire of any community – were all native speakers of one of the many varieties of spoken Greek, and their writings were replete with vernacular features. Even the most purified literary texts are encrusted with vernacular elements, because writers, be they the most literate and classicizing ones, were speakers of vernacular varieties and could not fully and perfectly use a learned variety such as Classic Greek. Although we must not exclude that the use of vernacular features might have had a naturalistic (make description more lively) or communicative (ensure understanding)

[9] E. Trapp, "Learned and vernacular literature in Byzantium: dichotomy or symbiosis?", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), 115 – 29.

function, as Trapp suggests,[10] I believe that this admixture was not the result of a totally conscious process; writers were, most of the time, unaware of the vernacular or deviant character of their writings.

As a consequence, the vast majority of Byzantine literary texts constitute an uneven mixture of features taken from both varieties. Robert Browning, for instance, qualified the whole Byzantine literary production until the early eleventh century as "macaronic", underlining that the boundaries between the vernacular and the clacissizing varieties of Greek were completely blurred.[11]

Notis Toufexis, commenting on the vernacular uses we find in Byzantine historiography, considers that even if we admit that some of them are the work of the scribes and not of the authors themselves, perfect command of the archaic language was exceptional.[12] In the most archaic texts of John Damaskenos, Anna Komnene or Michael Psellos there are forms, meanings and structures, which do not belong to the learned variety of Greek, but which were already used by the authors in their respective native varieties but thought of as part of Classic Greek.[13]

From the point of view of Classic Greek, Byzantine literary texts can only be approximations of the original, target language – in other words, imperfect reflections of a state of language that was no longer dynamically evolving. The opposite is also true: vernacular texts abound in archaizing features which are either part of the living language, introduced in vernacular texts by the force of habit, or the result of the pressures exerted by a more prestigious form of writing or expression.[14]

Given the overwhelmingly mixed nature of Byzantine texts, it is therefore unfeasible to consider vernacular and classicizing Greek as discrete linguistic (sub-)systems with clear-cut boundaries, and barely possible to classify them (the texts) as either vernacular or classicizing. In line with Toufexis's view on the mixed nature of Byzantine literary texts, I would suggest that it is preferable, more practical and more accurate

[10] Trapp, "Learned and vernacular literature", p. 117.

[11] R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (Cambridge, 1983).

[12] N. Toufexis, "Diglossia and register variation in Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32/2 (2008), 203 – 217, esp. p. 213.

[13] Cf. for instance S. Antoniadou, "Presence de la langue grecque moderne dans l'Alexiade d'Anne (Comnène)", in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucarest, 1976), vol. 3, pp. 683-87, and A. Garzya, "Visages de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe-XIIe siècles)", *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 463-482, for an account of the influences of colloquial Greek in the *Alexiade.*

[14] See also Trapp, "Learned and vernacular literature"; Toufexis, "Diglossia and register variation", p. 213.

to consider them as *variable linguistic practices*. The idea behind this proposal is to accept that *linguistic variability* is a focal characteristic of Byzantine literature, and instead of trying to separate the texts into two categories according to their usage of a specific set of features, it would be more useful to classify each of them according to the degree of variability they present.

In doing so we realize that, as Browning admitted, no clear-cut limits exist between vernacular and classicizing literary practices. Instead, literary texts could be set along a *literary continuum* with two opposite poles, conventionally labelled 'purely vernacular' and 'purely learned', respectively.[15] Ideally, the texts at the two ends of the continuum would make exclusive use either of vernacular or archaic elements. Along the line that leads from one pole to the other, there is a multitude of texts where both vernacular and learned features occur. Whether the two poles are imaginary or real, in other words, whether there are actually literary texts that use only vernacular or only learned features, is a real question: as it has been said, even in the most 'uncontroversial' cases of vernacular or classizing texts, there is often introduction of elements from the opposite pole.

4. Quantification of Variable Linguistic Practices

In view of the above, it would be interesting to look at the literary production *in-between* – where actually the majority of literary texts belong – that variably combines features from both sets, and try to order them along this continuum according to their degree of vernacular-ness or classical-ness. To do so one has, of course, to decide which features belong to the vernacular and which to the classicizing varieties of language. Moreover, one must also decide the importance of innovative trends, be they the result of hypercorrection, hyperadaptation or divergent usage. This leads to a number of questions.

First, of all, it is quite obvious that one cannot evaluate a text as more vernacular or classicized on the basis of a single feature: for instance, although it is unquestionable that periphrastic constructions of the type "verb + infitive of aorist" with future meaning such as "ὀφείλω εἰπεῖν" (I ought to say), "ἔχω εἰπεῖν" (I have to say), "θέλω εἰπεῖν" (I want to say) are, at least up to the 14th century, neological constructions, and the use of monolectical constructions with future meaning of the type

[15] See also Toufexis, "Diglossia and register variation".

"λέξω"/"ἐρῶ" (I will say), "ὄψομαι" (I will see), "δείξω" (I will show), an archaic use in Byzantine Greek, it is difficult to decide where to place the text on our continuum on the basis of this difference alone. For instance, should a text that uses periphrastic formations with future meaning of the type mentioned above be considered less or more classicizing than a text that extensively uses present infinitives, well established also in vernacular uses? And again, how should we range a text that widely uses monophrastic future constructions as compared to another one where an ample use of periphrastic future is being made? Any answer that would take into consideration the use of only one or a couple of features in a given text would be insufficient, as each text – its author – uses a combination of linguistic items or structures. Furthermore, it is quite possible that there exist correlations between various features, in such a way that the use of one feature implies the use of another, both marked as classicizing or vernacular. If we are to be able to give any answer at all to such questions we need to establish a hierarchy as to the classic or vernacular character of a *bundle of features* that could form an index of classical-ness or vernacular-ness. We could also envisage a different rating for each feature: we do know, for instance, that the use of the dual and the optative mode are two of the most important indicators of closeness to classic norms; in light of this, therefore we could allocate them a higher rank of classical-ness on our linguistic indicator.

An additional difficulty comes from the fact that most literary texts not only make use of both vernacular and classicizing features, let's say, the periphrastic structures with future meaning on the one hand and the past perfect infinitive on the other; they might also use a linguistic feature marked as classicizing and its vernacular equivalent simultaneously, e.g., they might use both the monolectical future tense of Classic Greek *and* the innovative periphrastic constructions with future meaning. Although both constructions have the same semantic value – they both place an event at some point in the future – and could therefore be considered semantically equivalent, they in fact belong to different stylistic – and probably sociolinguistic – levels because of their affiliation with a specific set of linguistic norms. The alternative use of equivalent forms/structures is a well-known phenomenon in sociolinguistics called *variation*.[16] Variation is a fact of oral speech, but it can also occur in written texts, where it denotes zones of linguistic instability or processes of linguistic change. As a consequence, very often what differentiates

16 W. Labov, *Principles of linguistic change: Social factors* (Oxford, 2001).

two literary texts is not the presence of a classic/vernacular feature in one text as compared to the absence of the very same feature in another, but rather the *frequency of use* of each feature in each text. This coexistence is possible because usually the vernacular forms that represent new or innovative trends or structures do not over-rule older norms overnight: new trends emerge at first as isolated or relatively infrequent instances of what are thought to be "erroneous" forms or structures, "interferences" of oral discourse into written texts, "solecisms" or "ungrammatical" usage. Almost always, they have to 'fight' against their normed counterparts for quite some time before they take over, that is, before they replace older forms and become in their turn the usual or expected linguistic choices in specific linguistic and literary contexts. The only way for the researcher to judge how far a text has gone toward replacing an old structure or form with a new one is by evaluating the frequency of use of each alternative feature. The alternative forms/structures are called *variants* and the semantic unit they represent, e.g., in the case of the monophrastic and periphrastic forms mentioned above the unit of 'the future', is called a *variable*. *Variables* are, thus, linguistic features (structures/forms/meanings/pronunciations, etc.) with multiple realisations, each of which has a vernacular and a classicizing form or, in sociolinguistic terms, (a) *high prestige* and (a) *low prestige variant(s)* which carry the same referential meaning (semantic value) but are socially or stylistically differently connotated.

As language is not static, but evolves both diachronically and synchronically, when constructing our linguistic index it is absolutely necessary to take into account the evolving status of certain variants through time. Therefore an alternative form/structure may be considered innovative as long as it tends to replace an older feature, but ceases to be one when it becomes the expected norm. As shifting away from previously established norms is a constant characteristic of human language, new meanings, structures or forms that replace old ones will most probably be replaced, in their turn, by more recent ones. It is therefore to be expected that in cases of linguistic duality like the one we encounter during Byzantine times, there will not be any kind of *categorical* – that is, exclusive – use of either the vernacular *or* the classicizing variants of our variables. It is more likely that the majority of texts will make use of both variants alternatively.

Let me show you now how this method could be used to classify texts. The example I will take does not involve katharevoussa and dhimotiki, but standard Greek and one of its geographic varieties, the

Cypriot dialect. The data in the example presented concern oral performances and not written texts, but the method could equally well apply to written literary production. In order to establish the variable nature of Cypriot speakers oral performances and the way they manage the multiple linguistic resources they have at hand, Sivas constructed a linguistic index made of 9 variables taken from various linguistic levels, each one of which had a standard Greek and a Cypriot variant.[17] She then checked the presence of each of these variants in 40 oral performances issued by different speakers in various contexts ranging from radio interviews to informal conversations between friends. The presence of each variant (be it standard or dialect) in the sample was noted 1, its absence 0. Each text was thus given a sixteen-digit number where the first eight numbers represented the standard variants and the eight last numbers the dialect variants. A speaker who would ideally use only the standard variants would appear as number 1111111100000000, whereas a speaker who would ideally use only dialect features would identify as 0000000011111111. Each speaker was then placed on a diagram according to its use of the variants more close to the Standard Greek end of the line (G) or closer to the Cypriot dialect end of the line (C) (Figure 1). For instance, a speaker with the digit 1111001110001 1001 would be placed on the diagram closer to the pole marked "Cypriot dialect" than a speaker with the digit 1111011100001001. Sivas' results show that, at the exception of one speaker who was using only standard variants – a standard Greek speaker for that matter (number 4 on Figure 1) – all other speakers were systematically using both the dialect and the standard variants on all or some of the variables under investigation. In other words, the overwhelming majority of Cypriot speakers were variably exploiting resources from both linguistic systems to make meaningful contributions, irrespective of the formal, semi-formal or casual nature of the communicative context they were in. The results of this type of analysis and how they can be interpreted as far as the management of linguistic resources by bilingual or bidialectal speakers is concerned have been extensively presented elsewhere and will not be reported *in extenso* here.[18]

[17] E. Sivas, *Η γλωσσική κατάσταση στην Κύπρο: Διφυία ή γλωσσικό συνεχές (The language situation in Cyprus: diglossia or dialect continuum?*) (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Cyprus, 2002).

[18] M. Karyolemou, "Reproduction and innovation of communicative patterns in a former-'diglossic' community", in R. Muhr (ed.), *Reproduction and Innovation in Language and Communication in different Language Cultures/Reproduktionen und Innovationen in Sprache und Kommunikation verschiedener Sprachkulturen* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 39-56 (http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/01_4/karyolemou16.htm), and ea-

Suffice it to say that they bring evidence of the fact that Cypriot speakers do not use either the dialect or standard Greek – their choice of one or the other depending on the degree of formality of situation – as would have predicted a diglossic scheme of behaviour, but both at one and the same time, thus practically producing variable degrees of dialectness and standardness in a continuum of uses.

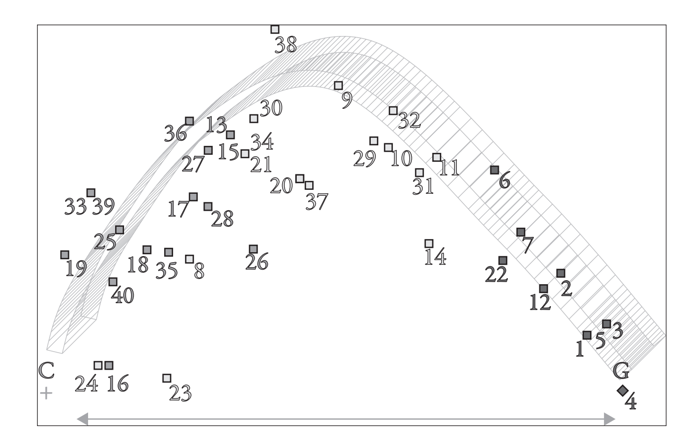


Figure 1.

Notwithstanding (a) the oral nature of the data analysed in Sivas work, and (b) the dialect vs standard relation of the variants of the variables involved, the same kind of analysis could be used to elucidate the variable use of vernacular vs learned/classicizing elements in Byzantine literary texts, thus producing a literary continuum. It is, furthermore, important that the classification of texts along our literary continuum takes into account the following three factors:

- **a)** the frequency of use of each variant,
- **b)** the context of occurrence of each variant,
- **c)** the textual or pragmatic function(s) of the variants.

Frequency of use allows us to quantify each of the linguistic alternates or variants, thus replacing the impressionistic inference of how close a text is to the archaic or vernacular language with statistical evidence. Generally speaking, equally quantified variants are very rarely encountered:

dem, "Τι απέγινε η κυπριακή διάλεκτος; Δημογραφία και γλωσσική επαφή στην Κύπρο του 21ου αιώνα", *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 34 (Nicosia, 2008), pp. 451-492.

one among the variants always occurs more often than the other(s). And despite the fact that it might be possible to group together literary texts that present a similar statistical relation between the different variants of a linguistic variable, each text has its own linguistic character. This is so because the quantification of different variables occurring in a text might yield different results in relation to its position along the continuum: for instance, a text might range quite close to the archaic language in terms of its use of the dative but quite close to the vernacular language if we consider its (absence or mis)use of the optative.

Context of occurrence, on the other hand, allows us to examine the dissemination of a particular variant from an initial context of appearance. Let's take, for instance, the early change that affected the verb "ἀφίημι" and its syntactic dependences and led to the emergence of the colloquial construction "ἄς + finite verb", where "ἄς" is a reduced and grammaticalized form of the verb "ἄφες".[19] It is important to do more than simply observe that the reduced construction is used; one must also consider how often and in which linguistic contexts. In this way we can reconstruct the changing pattern affecting "ἀφίημι", observing the new structure as it gradually emerges from a specific linguistic context where under its full verbal form "ἄφες" it was combined with an accusative, e.g., "ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θᾶψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς", instead of its regular combination with a dative, e.g., "ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφελήματα ἡμῶν". It has subsequently been combined with an infinitive, then a finite verb, "ἄφες + finite verb", then has gradually been desemanticized and morphologically reduced. Although "ἄφες + noun", "ἄφες + infinitive" and "ἄφες + finite verb" are intermediate stages preceding the final change, they appear simultaneously in many texts: consequently, we must be able to quantify them in order to decide how close a text is to the archaic or innovative structure.

Finally, *textual or pragmatic functions* help us assess the creative use of certain variants. Let's take, for instance, the occurrence of vernacular features in two different versions of the Digenis Akritas poem, the *Grottaferrata* and the *Escorial* versions. Martin Hinterberger points out that the status of these features is not the same:[20] in *Grottaferrata* they concentrate in passages reporting direct speech and therefore have

[19] E. Karantzola – A. Fliatouras, *Γλωσσική αλλαγή* (Athens, 2004), pp. 144-146.

[20] M. Hinterberger, "How should we define vernacular literature?", paper given at the conference *Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek* at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities, University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006. http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/html/Hinterberger.html (last access 18/06/2013).

a naturalistic/realistic function; as such, they are instances of *language copying reality*. In *Escorial,* on the other hand, they also occur in the narrative parts of the text and could be said to participate in the construction of the narrative. It is thus not enough to say that vernacular features appear/don't appear in a text: in order to establish if they are creative uses or mere reproductions, it is also necessary to identify the systematic character of such usage as well as the various textual functions.

We have thus far considered Byzantine literary texts as *alternating uses of vernacular and classicized variants of linguistic features/variables*. These variants may comprise totally new or innovative features but also new or extensive uses of old features and even features that are the product of hypercorrection. In his publications and in a conference delivered at the University of Cyprus, Martin Hinterberger has offered ample evidence of the fact that classicizing Greek is not a fossilized variety reproduced *in inertia*.[21] On the contrary, he reveals several innovative trends, for instance, a pronounced trend towards *neological creation*. Hinterberger underlines that, although this is not the sole characteristic of Byzantine literary texts, it is an imposing one, as hundreds of words were created on the spot by authors who exploited the morphological mechanisms of classicizing Greek to coin new terms in order to fulfill their expressive needs. These words are not part of the ancient Greek lexicon, and most of them were never integrated into the common literary lexicon, since other authors did not follow suit: they have, thus, the status of *hapax* – both as creations and as uses. Neither were they subsequently incorporated into vernacular Greek. They are almost all unclassified and have rarely been the object of systematic study. They could therefore be seen as a compromise between the desire to stay loyal to classical Greek linguistic models on the one hand and the imperative to fulfill expressive needs on the other.

Another characteristic of Byzantine texts listed above is *hypercorrection*. *Hypercorrections* are overgeneralizations or overapplications of valid (phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, etc.) rules to invalid contexts, generated once again by the desire to conform to ancient language and literary norms whose mastery was incomplete. The result

[21] M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur. Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin – New York, 2007), pp. 107 – 142, and idem, "Originality and innovation in Byzantine learned Greek", paper delivered at the University of Cyprus. 14/12/2012. See also Hinterberger's contribution to the present volume.

is the production of divergent forms and structures. Manolessou offers a panel of such hypercorrections from various linguistic levels.[22]

Finally, innovation may result from the overexploitation of already existing structures or features, which though not unknown in classical texts, have an *inflated* or *recursive* character in Byzantine texts, i.e., they are used with a much greater frequency in a greater number of functions. Here again, Hinterberger points to the unusually frequent use of the pluperfect with an aorist or imperfect meaning, a form that does exist in classic Greek but is less frequently used with these values.[23]

This short inventory of new trends encountered in Byzantine texts clearly shows that innovation is manifested in many different and subtle ways. We make such an evaluation based on an analysis that refuses to consider peculiarities, novelties or divergences of Byzantine literary texts as faulty or deviant applications of classical Greek norms. On the contrary, we have decided to treat them as instances of innovation that are the product of the interaction between a living language (or living forms of a language) and a fossilized form (or fossilized forms) that reflects an earlier stage of the same language. Such an approach can also help us consider the specificities of Byzantine literary production in relation to what comes before (ancient Greek literary language and production) and after it (Modern Greek literary language and production), as pathways that lead from the Ancient to the Modern Greek language.

Conclusion

Learned languages are languages that are not acquired naturally – that is, through intergenerational or peer oral transmission during everyday or *in vivo* interactions where one person is the transmittor and another the receptor; they are the object of some kind of formal learning. Learned languages are most commonly used in formal situations and in institutional, legal, religious or literary contexts. Although it is not uncommon to teach and learn specific kinds of spoken language – such an act being called *rhetorics* – most learned varieties have a specific function: they serve as a written medium. Since learned languages are not native varie-

[22] I. Manolessou "On Historical Linguistics, Linguistic Variation and Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), 63-79, and her contribution to this volume.

[23] Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur".

ties for anyone and do not develop or change by natural processes, it is practically impossible for even the most literate and loyal writers to reproduce them in exactly the same way as their native speakers. As a consequence, what they produce is a multitude of linguistic approximations which ultimately alter the targeted learned language and bring it closer to the vernacular variety.

In this sociolinguistic context, a classification of literary texts according to the dichotomy vernacular vs archaic language becomes a real puzzle for the researcher. In order to overcome this dichotomy, we propose the existence of a *literary continuum* along which texts are ranged according to their degree of vernacular-ness or classical-ness assessed by means of a constructed linguistic indicator. While the distinction between vernacular and classic/archaic varieties of Greek remains valid, this approach offers a dynamic perspective for the study of Byzantine literary texts, because it allows the quantification of linguistic differences and not simply the classification of texts.

Summary

In this paper, I briefly discuss the sociolinguistic view about 'literary languages', a view based on the functional analysis of societal communicative needs. I, then, investigate if and how sociolinguistic theory can help us better understand and more accurately analyse the relationship between the vernacular and classicizing Greek varieties, especially as far as their use in Byzantine literary texts is concerned. I suggest that the analysis of literary language use would have a lot to gain if we took up a more dynamic view of language use based upon the concept of *management of linguistic resources*, thus considering Byzantine literary texts as *linguistic practices that variably exploit linguistic resources* at hand to create/produce meaning. I, furthermore, propose the construction of a *linguistic index* consisting of a number of variables with learned/classicizing/archaizing and vernacular/casual/oral alternates/variants to assess each writer's/literary text's degree of vernacular-ness or/and classic-ness. Assessment should take into consideration quantitative (number and frequency of use of variants) as well as qualitative criteria (linguistic level of variants, function within the text). In addition, taking up the view that literary texts are not always just combining learned and vernacular features at one and the same time, but often initiate innovative trends, extensively use peripheral structures, or extend and overgeneralise already existing

trends, I propose to take them into account in the building up of this index. In accordance with previous proposals, I believe that the binary opposition learned/classicizing/archaizing vs vernacular/casual/oral could be resolved if we consider that literary texts form a *continuum of literary uses* (literary continuum), where they (the texts and not the authors) are ranked according to their degree of vernacular-ness or/and classic-ness.

ANTONIA GIANNOULI

EDUCATION AND LITERARY LANGUAGE IN BYZANTIUM

The relation of these two issues, education and literary language, cannot be exhaustively discussed in the framework of a single chapter such as this, not least because a comprehensive study on each of them remains a *desideratum*.[1] Given the scope of this book, my aim is rather to point out certain aspects of this relation, such as the content of the Byzantine curriculum and the methods employed in the teaching of language and the influence this exerted on the written, more or less literary, forms of Byzantine Greek. To this end, several topics previously suggested for further research into this relationship will be addressed again.

To begin with, it should be pointed out that from antiquity onwards the study of grammar was primarily based on literature, a fact already recorded by Dionysios Thrax (ca. 170–ca. 90 BC), who defined the art of grammar as "the practical knowledge of the general usages of poets and prose writers".[2] Studying grammar through literature became expedient because of the growing difference between the spoken and the written language. This process began in late antiquity and continued throughout the eleven centuries of the Byzantine Empire's existence.[3] When it came to education, a thorough study of the language based on the classical literature of the past would offer an advantage to those who pursued eloquence, and all the more so if they desired prestige and a successful career in the church or state administration. With this end in view, Byzantine authors avoided the use of the spoken language, at least

[1] On language see S. Wahlgren, "Towards a Grammar of Byzantine Greek", *Symbolae Osloenses* 77 (2002), 201–204; on education, see e.g. A. Markopoulos, « De la structure de l'école byzantine: le maitre, les livres et le processus éducatif », in B. Mondrain (ed.), *Lire et écrire à Byzance* (Paris, 2006), pp. 85-96, at p. 87.

[2] Dionysios Thrax, *Ars grammatica* 1.1.5, 2–3, ed. G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci,* vol. 1.1 (Leipzig, 1883); trans. J. A. Kemp, "The *Tekhnē Grammatikē* of Dionysius Thrax", *Historiographia Linguistica* 13 (1986), 343–363, at p. 346, reprinted in Daniel J. Taylor, *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 46 (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 169–189.

[3] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft: Abteilung 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch 5.2 (Munich, 1978), p. 4.

until the twelfth century, and chose its learned form for their writings, employing more or less elaborate versions according to their intended audience.

In their researches into literacy and attempts to distinguish the various levels of language and style of the written texts, scholars have specified criteria relating to, among other things, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, as well as to rhetorical devices and figures, literary quotations and allusions.[4] This is not the place to discuss how these criteria were applied to literary and sub–literary texts; I shall be looking rather at how standards of language and style were created in the education system in Byzantium. To this end, this chapter will first consider the question of the structure of Byzantine education and the position occupied in it by training in grammar and rhetoric.

1. Language and Rhetoric in Byzantine Education

The education system, inherited from the Hellenistic period, remained traditional and without major change throughout the Byzantine Empire. But, since education was mainly a private matter, its duration and demands were understandably enough adjusted to the student's capacity. The concept of an educational process in three stages continued to be the ideal for the Byzantines, as hagiographical sources attest, though, in fact, they rarely progressed beyond the secondary stage.[5]

Primary education was initially addressed to children between the ages of six and eight. They learned the letters of the Greek alphabet, reading, writing and counting from a *grammatistēs* over a period of about three or four years. The psalter served as the main textbook. Papyri containing letters, syllables, words, names, invocations, beginnings

[4] I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31.1 (1981), 289–310; H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas", *Byzantine Studies – Études Byzantines* 5 (1978), 139–170 (= idem, *Epidosis. Gesammelte Schriften zur byzantinischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte* [Munich, 1989], IX); R. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", in S. Vryonis Jr. (ed.), *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 1 (Malibu, 1978), pp. 103–133 (= idem, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* [Northampton 1989], XV).

[5] A. M. Moffatt, "Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education", in S. Dufrenne (ed.), *Byzance et les Slaves : études de civilisation. Mélanges Ivan Dujčev* (Paris, 1979), pp. 275–288, at pp. 285 and 287.

of letters, parts of documents, prayers, psalm verses, exercises on conjugation etc. reveal the content of such lessons.[6]

Pupils around the age of twelve continued their secondary education with a *grammatikos* (or *maistor*). This stage focused primarily on the study of grammar based on poetry and occasional panegyric and rhetorical texts,[7] rather than encompassing the whole range of the seven liberal arts (i.e. the *trivium of* grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, and the *quadrivium* of the mathematical disciplines, namely arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy).[8] Progress in the seven liberal arts, known as the *enkyklios paideia*,[9] was instead pursued at a higher level of education by studying with teachers specialized in one or more disciplines.[10] It is certainly true, that the dividing lines between the secondary stage and the other two are hard to discern. On the one hand, the boundary between the activities of the elementary and the secondary school teacher must have been flexible, something that is also reflected in the interchangeable use of the terms (i.e. *grammatistēs* and *grammatikos*) used to describe him in the sources.[11] On the other hand the sources that attest the existence of secondary and tertiary education do not, in fact, agree about their exact content. In light of this, it is understandable that an account of the courses recommended by an anonymous Byzantine teacher from the middle of the eleventh century seems to go beyond the secondary stage. He advises the student to start with grammar, continue

[6] H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Munich, 1989), pp. 77–78. On the elementary education see also P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin : notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au 10e siècle*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 6 (Paris, 1971), pp. 99–100; F. Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci. Learning Greek in the Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 32 (Leiden [*et alibi*], 2008), p. 106; A. Markopoulos, "Education", in E. Jeffreys – J. F. Haldon – R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 785–795, at p. 787.

[7] On the content of secondary education (in the 10th c.), see Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, p. 252; Moffatt, "Curricula (see above, n. 5)", pp. 276-277.

[8] See e.g. Markopoulos, "Education (see above, n. 6)", p. 787.

[9] Cf. Pseudo Zonaras, *Lexicon*, ed. J. A. H. Tittmann (Leipzig, 1808), p. 600, ll. 11–14: Ἐγκύκλιος. ἡ γραμματική· ἡ ποιητική· ἡ ῥητορική· ἡ φιλοσοφία· ἡ μαθηματική· καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη, διὰ τὸ περιϊέναι ταῦτα τοὺς σοφοὺς ὡς διά τινος κύκλου.

[10] According to Moffatt, "Curricula (see above, n. 5)", pp. 276–277, the seven liberal arts were studied at the secondary stage in the West, but they constituted the tertiary stage in Byzantium. Cf. also below, n. 13.

[11] In the fourth century, the term *grammatistēs* designates a "teacher of elementary letters", but it also occurs with the meaning of *grammatikos*, i.e. "teacher of the liberal letters"; see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 11 (Berkeley, Calif. [*et alibi*], 1988), pp. 447–451.

with rhetoric and round off his studies with courses in philosophy and law.[12] Moreover in relation to tertiary education, there are various opinions about its existence, content and dependence on the church or the state.[13]

Because of the flexibility in the content of the various educational stages and probably also due to "the downturn in tertiary educational opportunities in the East" from the sixth century onwards, a liberal education was identified with grammar.[14] We have only to recall the testimonies of John Tzetzes (ca. 1110–ca. 1180) and George Akropolites (1217/1220–1282).[15] From them we can also infer the importance of grammar, which was considered the basis for the study of philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric and medicine.[16] Consequently, and whatever may have applied to the other disciplines, grammar belonged to secondary education; and this is also true of rhetoric, at least for the introductory courses. These observations lead us to the next issue, which concerns the content, the means and the aims of the teaching of language and rhetoric.

The textbooks used in these courses can be generally divided into theoretical treatises on the arts of grammar and rhetoric, philological tools such as lexica, epimerisms and encyclopedias, and finally literary texts serving as models, either in their original, complete form, or as excerpts, in the form of anthologies or reworked in the form of *schedē* (σχέδη), or even analyzed in the form of epimerisms.

According to the testimony of the anonymous teacher mentioned above, the courses in grammar were based on the *Technē grammatikē* by Dionysios Thrax, its *Epitomē* by Theodosios of Alexandria (fourth–fifth century), the treatises of Herodian (ca. 180 – ca. 250) and Oros of

12 M. Treu, "Ein byzantinisches Schulgespräch", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893), 96–105, at pp. 97–99. The manuscript tradition dates back to the end of the 13th c., see *ibidem*, p. 96. On the date of the text itself, see *ibidem,* p. 104.

13 On the various opinions and arguments, see e.g. B. Katsaros, *Ιωάννης Κασταμονίτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου, του έργου και της εποχής του*, Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται 22 (Thessaloniki, 1988), pp. 163–207, with detailed bibliography.

14 Moffatt, "Curricula (see above, n. 5)", p. 287.

15 John Tzetzes, *Chiliads*, XI 377, 527–528, ed. P. L. M. Leone (Naples, 1968): Νῦν δέ γε τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν | εἶπον, κατὰ κατάχρησιν, οὐ λόγῳ δὲ κυρίῳ. Cf. also George Acropolites, Annals 29, ll. 2–4, ed. A. Heisenberg, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1903): ἀπεστάλην τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἑκκαιδεκέτης ὢν καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐγκυκλίου ἀπηλλαγμένος παιδεύσεως, ἣν γραμματικὴν κατονομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί.

16 For this see the praise of grammar in Niketas Eugeneianos's Anacharsis, at ll. 44–104, ed. D. A. Chrestides, *Μαρκιανὰ Ἀνέκδοτα: 1. Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ Ἀνανίας, 2. Ἐπιστολές – Σιγίλλιο*, (Thessaloniki, 1984), pp. 205–290, at pp. 207–209; cf. also *ibidem,* p. 38.

Alexandria (fifth century), and the scholia on Dionysios Thrax by Heliodoros (seventh century) and George Choiroboskos (ninth century).[17] The great importance of orthography becomes evident from this account, and is also reflected in the number of treatises on the subject.[18] The main orthographical topics were treated by Herodian, namely the division of a word into syllables (*syntaxis*), the changes of consonants before consonants (*poiotēs*), and the orthography between short, long and variable vowels (*posotēs*), of which the last, concerning iotacism, was the most significant. These works, as well as the later schoolbooks on grammar, reflect the sound changes in the Greek language over time.[19] As far as grammatical treatises are concerned, it has already been demonstrated that most of them focused on grammar rather than syntax; the latter began to attract attention in later centuries, as for example in the treatises of Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255 – ca. 1305) and John Glykys (ca. 1260 – ca. 1319).[20]

With particular regard to the aims of courses in the Greek language (*hellēnismos*), it should be borne in mind that the grammarians were at the same time teachers, who wrote their grammatical treatises mainly for students of secondary and higher education. As "guardians" of the language, they analyzed the use of Greek and taught the correct diction, in order to purify the spoken and written language of solecisms and barbarisms and to protect it from alien influences.[21]

[17] On these authors and their work see F. Montanari, "Dionysios Thrax", *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997), 632–635; cf. also above, n. 2; St. Matthaios, "Theodosios [3]", *Der Neue Pauly* 12.1 (2002), 340; F. Montanari, "Ailios Herodianos", *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998), 465-467; on his orthographical treatises, see also Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:18; K. Alpers, "Oros", *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000), 52–53; S. Fornaro, "Heliodoros [9]", *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998), 291; F. Montanari, "Choiroboskos Georgios", *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997), 1139–1140. On Byzantine manuscripts of these handbooks and their chronological distribution see the insightful study of F. Ronconi, « Quelle grammaire à Byzance? La circulation des textes grammaticaux et son reflet dans les manuscrits », in G. De Gregorio – M. Galante (eds.), *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti. Fisciano – Salerno (28–30 settembre 2009)* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 63-110.

[18] Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:22; cf. also Treu, "Schulgespräch (see above, n. 12)", p. 97, l. 20, where grammar should be corrected to orthography, as Treu has already pointed out (*ibidem*, 105).

[19] For further authors of similar works up to the 15th c., see Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:18–19.

[20] Treu, "Schulgespräch (see above, n. 12)", p. 105. According to Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci* (see above, n. 6), p. 105, this interest resulted from the contacts with the West.

[21] On the definition of *hellēnismos* as a "speech free from syntactic and grammatical errors", see *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848), p. 331, ll. 37–39:

On the other hand, rhetoric as the art of "τοῦ εὖ λέγειν τὰ προβλήματα" also enjoyed a prominent position in the Byzantine education.[22] For, apart from the flawless use of the Greek language, students were expected to practice formulating their thoughts and communicating them effectively. Thus, the anonymous teacher also specifies genres and topics to be studied in the framework of the courses on rhetoric. By giving a detailed presentation of their content, he implies, without mentioning by name, the use of the Art of Rhetoric by Hermogenes (160–230) and the fourteen *Progymnasmata* by Aphthonios.[23] Of course this list is associated with a certain place and time. The anonymous teacher does not mention literary works to be used as models; nor does he mention the *Progymnasmata* ascribed to Hermogenes and the *Isagoge* by Porphyry of Tyre (third century), attested elsewhere as textbooks.[24]

After this sketchy presentation of the material and goals of the courses in grammar and rhetoric, we can now turn to the teaching methods, exercises and other practices used to achieve these goals.

2. Teaching Methods

The exercises and methods employed for the training of young people in language skills reflect the six divisions of the art of grammar, as described by Dionysios Thrax, namely: i) the skill of reading (aloud) with due attention to prosodic features, ii) interpretation, taking note of the tropes of literary composition found in the text, iii) the ready explanation of obscure words and historical references, iv) discovering the origins of

Ἑλληνισμός ἐστι τὸ καθ' Ἕλληνας διαλέγεσθαι, τουτέστι τὸ ἀσολοικίστως καὶ ἀβαρβαρίστως διαλέγεσθαι. Cf. also Ps-Zonaras, *Lexicon* (see above, n. 9), ed. Tittmann, p. 684, ll. 3–4. On the aim of the grammar courses, as attested by a Byzantine teacher, see Treu, "Schulgespräch (see above, n. 12)", p. 97. On the grammarian's role, see Kaster, *Guardians* (see above, n. 11), pp. 15–31; cf. Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci* (see above, n. 6), p. 103.

22 *Suda*, π 1196,5 (s.v. περίλεξις), ed. A. Adler, 1.4 (Leipzig, 1935).

23 Treu, "Schulgespräch (see above, n. 12)", 97–98. On Hermogenes and his work see P. Weiß, "Hermogenes von Tarsos", *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998), 444–446. On Aphthonios' Progymnasmata, see *Corpus Rhetoricum*, vol. 1: *Anonyme, Préambule à la rhétorique; Aphthonios, Progymnasmata*. En annexe: *Pseudo-Hermogène, Progymnasmata*, ed. M. Patillon, Collection des universités de France. Série grecque 460 (Paris, 2008), pp. 112–162.

24 Moffatt, "Curricula (see above, n. 5)", p. 276 and n. 4; especially with regard to Hermogenes' Art of Rhetoric cf. *Suda* ε 3046,10, ed. Adler: Τέχνην ῥητορικήν, ἣν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες. On Porphyry and his work see R. Harmon, "Porphyrios", *Der Neue Pauly* 10 (2001), 174–181.

words, v) a detailed account of regular patterns, and vi) critical assessment of poems.[25] Furthermore, an educational process is revealed: a rather passive and mechanical memorizing of theory and literary models was followed by a creative application of the acquired knowledge.[26] A mere reading of the practical directions for composing *progymnasmata* or the various epistolary types confirms this process also applied to the courses in rhetoric.[27]

Classroom methods for developing language skills, such as reading aloud, listening, paraphrasing, elaborating and contradicting, have fortunately been described by the Alexandrian Aelius Theon (first century AD). His appreciation of their significance is indicated by his decision to include them as the last five of the seventeen preliminary exercises he addresses primarily to teachers.[28] In his introduction, he stresses that the order of the *gymnasmata* is important and that it should be retained in teaching, with the exception of the last five. Of these, he explains, reading, listening and paraphrase should be used from the beginning, while elaboration and to a greater extent contradiction should only be used once students had already had some training.[29] It is worth taking a closer look at the theoretical description of these five exercises, which survive only in Armenian.[30]

The reading (*anagnōsis*) of a written text in a loud and strong voice is covered in the thirteenth of Aelius Theon's *progymnasmata*.[31] He recommends that students should begin reading aloud with oratory, i.e. Isocrates, followed by Hypereides, Aischines and Demosthenes, while teachers ought to explain the works and offer a brief course in rhetorical

25 Dionysios Thrax, *Ars grammatica* 1.1.5, 4–8, ed. Uhlig; trans. Kemp, "The *Tekhnē Grammatikē* (see above, n. 2)", p. 346.

26 On memorizing and *mimēsis* at the secondary level of education, see Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme* (see above, n. 6), pp. 252–255.

27 Cf. the *progymnasmata* in Corpus Rhetoricum, vol. 1, ed. Patillon; and the epistolary types, in Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur τύποι ἐπιστολικοί et ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες, ed. V. Weichert (Leipzig, 1910).

28 Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. M. Patillon – G. Bolognesi (Paris, 1997), pp. 102–112.

29 Ibidem, p. 9, (Spengel 65, ll. 23–26); trans. G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata. Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Greco–Roman World 10 (Leiden, 2003), p. 9.

30 On their Armenian transmission, see Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. CXXXVI.

31 Ibidem, p. 4, (Spengel 61, ll. 30–33) and pp. 102–105; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 5–6 and 66–69.

theory. Afterwards, the students should continue with historical writing, starting with Herodotus and moving on to Theopompus and Xenophon, Philistus and Ephorus and ending with Thucydides. In this way, students would be introduced to the various subgenres of historiography, such as the genealogical, political, mythical and biographical. Furthermore, Theon emphasizes that the main aim was that students practice the art of the speech, fitting their voice and gestures to the subject of their oration.[32] Thus, they needed to study a variety of texts and *in toto*, so that imitation would not be restricted to one kind of ideal model of style, but would "mold in accordance with the nature" of each subject. To this effect, he recommends frequent reciting and recalling of all marked passages.

This exercise taken over by the Greek rhetorical schools from the reading of poetry practiced in grammar schools remained a common practice until the late Byzantine period, although it does not appear among the later *progymnasmata*.[33] Furthermore, the list of literary works to be studied as models could also be extended.[34]

Listening (*akroasis*) to what is read aloud was Theon's fourteenth *progymnasma*.[35] Involving mainly works of important authors, it required first paying "frank and friendly attention to the speaker," next recalling the subject, then identifying the main points and finally reciting the interesting passages orally and in writing.

In the exercise of paraphrase (*paraphrasis*),[36] students were expected to express a certain idea in various different ways, namely as a declaration,

[32] Dionysios Thrax, *Ars grammatica* 1.1.6, 6–13 (ed. Uhlig); trans. Kemp, "The *Tekhnē Grammatikē* (see above, n. 2)", pp. 346–347.

[33] Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), 66. On its existence in later centuries, see W. Hörandner, "Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios, Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede", *Medioevo Greco* 12 (2012), 87–131, at pp. 103–104 (ch. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς). On reading aloud as something also done in private, see G. Cavallo, « Le rossignol et l'hirondelle. Lire et écrire à Byzance, en Occident », *Annales : Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 56 (2001), 849–861, at p. 851; also Hunger, *Schreiben* (see above, n. 6), p. 77.

[34] Cf. Hörandner, "Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios", pp. 104–106 (ch. Τίνας τῶν σοφῶν παραληπτέον εἰς παράδειγμα ἑκάστου εἴδους τῶν λόγων); Markopoulos, « De la structure (see above, n. 1) », pp. 88–89; idem, "Education", pp. 788–789.

[35] Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. 4, (Spengel 61, l. 33 – 62, l. 10) and pp. 105–107; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 6 and 69–70.

[36] Aelius Théon, Progymnasmata, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. 4–7, (Spengel 62, l. 10 – 64, l. 24) and pp. 107–109; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 6–8 and 70–71.

a question, an inquiry, a beseeching request, or by transposing, adding, subtracting and substituting words.

A more demanding training in the literary models is provided by the last two exercises. In learning elaboration (*exergasia*),[37] the students had to "add what is lacking in thought and expression," or make clear an obscure subject, or make something more pleasant, or use a better arrangement or a more ornate style. Finally in the exercise of contradiction (*antirrhēsis*), they had to compose a "discourse that attacks the credibility of another discourse," by showing that it is, for example, "obscure, impossible, incredible, deceitful, or inadequate in thought or expression".[38]

In addition to the five exercises in linguistic training mentioned above, Theon hints in passing at further exercises, such as analyzing, interpreting, memorizing, and reciting orally or in writing, and finally imitating. Although none of these survived as *progymnasmata* in the later collections, their use in teaching is occasionally attested in, for example, scattered notes or autobiographical references.[39]

Frequent reading, memorizing and reciting favored imitation (*mimēsis*) of literary models not only from classical antiquity but also later.[40] Thus, reading was more than "a valuable exercise in rhetorical

37 Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. 7–8, (Spengel 64, ll. 24–26) and pp. 110–111; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 8 and 71–72.

38 Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. 8, (Spengel 64, ll. 26–27) and pp. 110–112; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 8 and 71–72.

39 Cf. Hunger, *Schreiben* (see above, n. 6), pp. 77 and 150 n. 5, who points to the testimony of a teacher preserved in an early 15th-c. Vienna manuscript; the teacher advises young people to learn in this order: to write down a given text correctly, to memorize it accurately, to interpret it intelligibly, to analyze it according to syntax and orthography, especially the *antistoicha*, and finally to always commit it to memory and read it aloud. On imitation in relation to progymnasmata, see E. Schiffer, "Bemerkungen zur Auseinandersetzung mit Progymnasmata in byzantinischen Lehrschriften zur Rhetorik", in A. Rhoby – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio: Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008)*, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21 (Vienna, 2010), pp. 237–242; cf. also Hörandner, "Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios", pp. 103–104.

40 Imitation was not extended to the works of gifted and learned Christian Fathers; see H. Hunger, "On the imitation (μίμησις) of antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–1970), 15–38, at pp. 21f. (= idem, *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung: Gesammelte Aufsätze* [London, 1973], XV). See also C. N. Constantinides, "Teachers and Students of Rhetoric in the Late Byzantine Period", in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 11 (Aldershot [*et alibi*], 2003), pp. 39–53, at pp. 48–50.

delivery".[41] As Theon maintained, it is "the nourishment of style; for we imitate most beautifully when our mind has been stamped by beautiful examples".[42]

The theory of *mimēsis*, which dates back to Atticism, became a major motive behind philological activity in Byzantium.[43] Quotation in particular was a frequently practiced stylistic trope and came to be an art in its own right. If the exchange of literary gifts between educated Byzantines created bonds and exclusions,[44] quotations were an important component of this social game that only the initiated could appreciate. It is for this reason that creating a collection of the classical passages most frequently quoted by the Byzantines – as suggested by Paul Maas – would offer insights into the nature of Byzantine humanism.[45] For *mimēsis* involved not just language, but also a world of ideas, institutions and visions of life.

Epimerisms (*epimerismoí*) constituted a teaching method involving subdividing a verse or sentence into words. It consisted of a detailed grammatical, prosodic and semantic analysis of each word, following the categories defined by Dionysios Thrax. Starting from the works of Homer, Philostratus and Aelianus, it was then applied to the Bible and later texts such as Agapetos. In the eleventh–twelfth centuries, epimerisms appear

[41] Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), p. 66, n. 198.

[42] Aelius Théon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. 4, (Spengel 61, ll. 30–33). See trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata* (see above, n. 29), pp. 5–7; Theon ascribes this statement to Apollonius of Rhodes (3rd c. BC), see Aelius Théon, Progymnasmata, ed. Patillon – Bolognesi, p. XCVIII. Similar opinions are echoed by Pseudo-Gregory of Corinth (see above, n. 29). For further statements on imitation as a prerequisite for creativity, cf. A. R. Littlewood, "An Icon of the Soul: The Byzantine Letter", *Visible Language* 10 (1976), 197–226, at p. 212; Hunger, "On the Imitation", pp. 17–18.

[43] Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:7. See also below, n. 67.

[44] On the discourse of "words as a gift" see F. Bernard, "Gifts of Words: The Discourse of Gift-giving in Eleventh-century Byzantine Poetry", in F. Bernard – K. Demoen (eds.), *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 37–51. As the example of Christopher of Mytilene shows, sharing one's own literary works was not granted to all; see C. Demoen, "*Phrasis poikilê*: imitatio and variatio in the poetry book of Christophoros Mitylenaios", in Rhoby – Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio*, (see above, n. 39) pp. 103–118, at p. 111.

[45] P. Maas, "Schicksale der antiken Literatur in Byzanz," in *Sixième Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Résumés des rapports et Communications* (Paris, 1940), pp. 264–269, at p. 265. On the suggested creation of an on-line lexicon of frequently repeated quotations and parallels see D.R. Reinsch, "Zum Edieren von Texten: Über Zitate", in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21–26 August 2006, vol. 1: Plenary Papers* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 299–309, at p. 303.

under the designation of *schedē*.[46] Similarly, schedography (*schedographia*), from the late tenth century on, served initially as a method of teaching grammar in Constantinople. It was specifically designed to improve the student's command of the grammatical, syntactical and orthographical rules as well as vocabulary.[47] Despite criticisms,[48] it proved to be an effective and popular method for practicing grammar, as its long-term and widespread use up to the end of the empire and even beyond confirm.[49]

Moreover, the preserved examples (*schedē*) disclose a variety of forms, which indicate that this method underwent an evolution. Textbooks such as the well-known "Longibardos" contained *schedē* with an analysis of the language of ancient texts, based on the existing material in grammars and lexica.[50] Later, they became even more complex, as the detailed grammatical-lexical analysis of short passages in the *schedē* by Manuel Moschopoulos (ca. 1265–ca. 1316) attests.[51] However, earlier than that, in the twelfth century, a new form of *schedē* was in-

[46] On epimerisms as part of the teaching methods, see A. Garzya, "Per l'erudizione scolastica a Bisanzio", in *Byzantino–Sicula III. Miscellanea di scritti in onore di Bruno Lavagnini*, Quaderni, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 14 (Palermo, 2000), pp. 135–147, at pp. 135ff; S. Fornaro, "Epimerismi", *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997), 1145–1146; the Epimerisms on Homer are to be dated after George Choiroboskos' Epimerisms on Psalms (9th c.). On the relation of the epimerisms to *schedē*, see Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:22f.

[47] On the content and aim of these texts, see I. Vassis, "Schedographie", *Der Neue Pauly* 11 (2002), 152-153; idem, "Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα. Η συλλογὴ σχεδῶν τοῦ κώδικα *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 92", *Hellenika* 52 (2002), 37–68; idem, "Graeca sunt, non leguntur. Zu den schedographischen Spielereien des Theodoros Prodromos", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86–87 (1993–1994), 1–19. See also I. Polemis, "Philologische und historische Probleme in der schedographischen Sammlung des *Codex Marcianus* Gr. XI, 31", *Byzantion* 57 (1997), 252–263; cf. Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:26.

[48] The Byzantines' criticism of schedography as an educational method was principally based on its misuse as a teaching method or its commercial exploitation by teachers and on its use as the students' only reading matter; cf. Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:26–27.

[49] On the composition and use of *schedē* for the teaching of Greek in the West, see Vassis, Τῶν νέων, 39f.; St. Efthymiadis, "L'enseignement secondaire à Constantinople pendant les XIe et XIIe siècles: modèle éducatif pour la Terre d'Otrante au XIIIe siècle", *Nea Rhōmē* 2 (2005), 259–275, at p. 274f. On their manuscript tradition see Vassis, "Graeca sunt", pp. 3–5.

[50] As explicitly stated by Longibardos in his Παρεκβόλαια περὶ συντάξεως καὶ ἀντιστοίχων πάνυ ὠφέλιμα: N. Festa, "Longibardos", *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 101–222, text pp. 112–163, at p. 113, 10–11: νοθείᾳ λόγων παλαιῶν ἐνασχολησόμεθα.

[51] In his work Περὶ σχεδῶν, Moschopoulos comments on 22 excerpts from secular and religious texts, in terms of orthography, grammar, syntax, etymology, etc.; Vassis, "Τῶν νέων", p. 39, n. 14.

vented by Theodore Prodromos. Couched in the form of word-puzzles based on the *antistoicha*,[52] the new *schedē* even laid claim to literary merit.[53] A considerable number of such examples, often concluding with verses, are preserved in collections.[54] The teachers intentionally inserted into them a range of lexical and orthographic distortions, such as homophone errors (*iotacisms* and double consonants) or wrong combinations of syllables, which the student had to restore. These exercises were either based on well-known edifying stories, fables, and lives of the saints or were new compositions of similar content. Their aim was to check the student's competence in orthography, spelling, word-division and vocabulary, as well as to enhance his creativity in composition.[55]

It is most likely that schedography belonged to the sphere of secondary education.[56] However, according to the superscriptions which occasionally survive, these exercises seem to have been divided up according to their degree of difficulty and reflect a gradual progression in the teaching of the language from beginners to advanced students.[57]

From scattered testimonies, we can infer how these exercises were used. The teacher's assertion in one such example that: "the teacher made

[52] Special lexica and orthographic manuals were designed for the learning of the *antistoicha* (i, e, o); see E. Follieri, "Ἀντίστοιχα", *Diptycha* 4 (1986–1987), 217–228, at pp. 220–221.

[53] Vassis, "Graeca sunt" (see above, n. 47), p. 13. Some of his *schedē* have been edited; see *ibidem*, 14–19; and J.-T. Papademetriou, "Τὰ σχέδη τοῦ μυός: New Sources and Text", in *Classical Studies presented to Ben Edwin Perry by his Students and Colleagues at the University of Illinois, 1924–1960*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 58, (Urbana – Chicago – London, 1969), pp. 210–222.

[54] The number of concluding dodecasyllable verses may range from one to twenty; see Vassis, "*Τῶν νέων*" (see above, n. 47), 38.

[55] On the importance of orthography in the *schedē*, see esp. A. Debiasi Gonzato, "Osservazioni ad alcuni esercizi schedografici del cod. Marciano gr. XI, 16", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 8–9 (XVIII–XIX, 1971–1972), 109–125, at pp. 115–116: τὸ σχεδογραφεῖν ὦ νέε, διὰ τὸ ὀρθογραφεῖν ἐστὶν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δέ τις σπεύδει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν, οὐ σπουδάζει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθογράφειν, ἐπὶ κενῷ ἰδίει· τοίνυν καὶ σὺ εἰ αἱρῇ τὸ ὀρθογραφῆσαι, σπούδαζε καὶ ἀγωνίζου ὅσῃ σοι ἴς.

[56] On this opinion see Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:22: "Mittelschule"; cf. R. Webb, "A Slavish Art? Language and Grammar in Late Byzantine Education and Society", *Dialogos* 1 (1994), 81–103, at pp. 86–87. But it has been also ascribed to the primary level of education, see Vassis, "*Τῶν νέων*", pp. 39 and 41: "πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση". It is not unreasonable to assume that the grading of the *schedē* corresponded to the first two stages of the education system.

[57] Vassis, "*Τῶν νέων*", pp. 39–40.

a slip for your sake, John..."[58] implies that the "distorted" texts were offered in written form to the students, so that the latter could revise the orthography and spelling of the words, according to meaning. This suggestion is supported by the fact that such *schedē* are transmitted with deliberate mistakes based on the *antistoicha.*[59]

On the other hand, Eustathios' advice to students[60] that, since the "speakers" of *schedē* (τὰ σχεδικὰ λαλοῦντες) call their puzzles *noēmata*, they should pay attention to what was meant and not to what was heard implies that such exercises were to be dictated to pupils, who had to restore them according to the meaning and not based on what they heard. The edited collections of *schedē* reveal the variety of the grammatical topics examined in the framework of grammar teaching in the last centuries of Byzantium and offer a vivid picture of the evolution of this method over time. A comprehensive study of all types of *schedē* would thus shed light on the teaching of grammar as well as on its impact on the written language. Apart from the above mentioned teaching methods, it is worth recalling some other methods and practices that had a positive effect regarding the teaching of language and rhetoric and more.

To facilitate memorizing and in an attempt to teach in a pleasant way, from the eleventh century on teachers put didactic material into verse. In particular, political verse and dodecasyllables became popular mnemonic devices for such purposes.[61] Moreover, the genre of erotapokriseis, i.e. questions and answers (e.g. as if between pupil and

[58] The schedos in Marcianus gr. XI. 31 f. 276r, begins with the phrase: Ὠλίσθησε μὲν διὰ σὲ καὶ ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος, ὦ Ἰωάννη...; see R. Browning, "Il codice Marciano Gr. XI.31 e la schedografia bizantina", in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 24 (Padua, 1976), pp. 21-34, at p. 22.

[59] The restoration was possible on the basis of the sound of words and phrases. On this and for a classification of the textual "distortions" or traps set for the students, see Vassis, "Graeca sunt" (see above, n. 47), pp. 11–12; cf. also above, n. 52.

[60] Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Stallbaum, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1825), p. 348, 35–37: οἱ δὲ τὰ σχεδικὰ λαλοῦντες ἀκολούθως καὶ αὐτοὶ νοήματα καλοῦσιν ἅπερ γριφεύονται, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα παῖδα μὴ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοουμένου γίνεσθαι.

[61] W. Hörandner, "The Byzantine Didactic Poem – A Neglected Literary Genre? A Survey with Special Reference to the Eleventh Century", in F. Bernard – K. Demoen (eds.), *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 55–67, at pp. 57 and 62; see also idem, "La poésie profane au XIe siècle et la connaissance des auteurs anciens", *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), 245–263, at p. 254. On the aesthetic quality of these poems, despite their practical purpose, see M. Lauxtermann, "Byzantine Didactic Poetry and the Question of Poeticality", in P. Odorico – P. Agapitos – M. Hinterberger (eds.), *"Doux remède...". Poésie et Poétique à Byzance. Actes du quatrième colloque international philologique EPMHNEIA*, Dossiers Byzantins 9 (Paris, 2009), pp. 37–46.

teacher), can also be seen to have been another convenient way of presenting didactic material.[62]

Furthermore, mutual teaching was not only an expedient method of getting advanced students (*ekkritoi* or *epistatountes*) to teach beginners, but was at the same time an effective learning method for advanced students, helping them to consolidate the knowledge they had acquired and improve its quality.[63]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Byzantine teachers had recourse to other pedagogic methods, such as chastisement or reprimand, both of which are reflected in teaching texts. It is not by chance that the former method, which dates back to antiquity and beyond, is referred to by implication in the Art of Grammar by Dionysios Thrax. To be specific, for the teaching of the conjugation of verbs ending in -ω, Dionysios chose the verb τύπτω.[64] Moreover, didactic literature reflects the teacher's reprimands of the pupil, through which the former, while teaching, kept the attention of the latter on the subject, as Tovar has explained.[65]

From this rather selective presentation of the grammatical and rhetorical knowledge and training provided by Byzantine secondary education, its impact on the written language becomes evident. Various aspects of this relationship, such as questions of literacy, imitation and the survival of the classical tradition in Byzantium have already been systematically examined in numerous studies.[66] In the following, I will mainly refer to insights obtained by the research to date and make do with some characteristic examples.

[62] Garzya, "Per l'erudizione scolastica" (see above, n. 46), pp. 143–144. See also A. Kazhdan, "Erotapokriseis", *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1 (Oxford, 1991), p. 727.

[63] On mutual teaching in the 10th c., cf. e.g. Markopoulos, « De la structure (see above, n. 1) », pp. 85–96, at p. 88.

[64] On this observation see Hunger, *Schreiben* (see above, n. 6), p. 76; numerous pages have been devoted to the verb τύπτω in Theodosios of Alexandria's Kanones and in Choiroboskos' Commentary. Cf. also Menander, Sententia 573, ed. S. Jäkel (Leipzig, 1964): ὁ μὴ δαρεὶς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται.

[65] A. Tovar, "Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine", in *Classical Studies presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (see above, n. 53), pp. 223-235, at p. 229. Cf. the didactic poem on grammar written in political verse by Niketas of Herakleia for Constantine Doukas, J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1830; repr. 1962), p. 369, ll. 555–556: φρονεῖς τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, καταφρονεῖς μαστίγων, | ὑπερφρονεῖς κολάσεων, περιφρονεῖς αἰκίας; on the poem and the complaints of the teacher about his pupil's lack of interest, see Hörandner, "The Byzantine Didactic Poem" (see above, n. 61), pp. 64–65.

[66] On such questions, see further below. On the results of the Byzantine elementary education, see Hunger, *Schreiben* (see above, n. 6), pp. 79–81.

3. The Impact of Education on Literature

First of all, it should be borne in mind that the survival of the classical tradition was secured through the teaching of grammar and rhetoric, not least because of the rhetorical theory of *mimēsis*.[67] Being familiar with the teachings of Dionysios of Halicarnassus (first century BC) and Demetrius (first century AD) on stylistic levels, Byzantine authors displayed an awareness of style in their works. This awareness can be deduced from their own practice, their explicit statements or literary criticisms, the revision of their own work or occasionally from the simultaneous use of different styles in the same work.[68]

Specifically, the coexistence of learned Greek with popular language was one of the important outcomes of the Byzantine curriculum.[69] With the aid of grammatical treatises, lexica and other philological tools,[70] the intellectual elite strove to use the learned *koinē* or classicizing Greek.[71]

67 H. Hunger, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: the Importance of Rhetoric", in M. Mullett – R. Scott, *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979* (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 35–47, at 35. On the meanings of the term *mimesis* and "imitation", and their relation to the rhetorical terms of *aemulatio* and *variatio*, see A. Rhoby – E. Schiffer, "Einleitung", in Rhoby – Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio*, pp. 17–22.

68 Ševčenko, "Levels of Style" (see above, n. 4), p. 292. On Psellos's awareness, see W. Hörandner, "Literary Criticism in 11th-century Byzantium: Views of Michel Psellos on John Chrysostom's Style", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2.3 (1996), 336-344. On the dispute about style in the 11th c., see also P. A. Agapitos, "Teachers, Pupils and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium", in Y. L. Too – N. Livingstone (eds.), *Pedagogy and Power. Rhetorics of classical learning* (Cambridge [*et alibi*], 1998), pp. 170–191, at p. 188.

69 See e.g. M. Hinterberger, "How should we define vernacular literature?" Paper given at the conference: "*Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek*" at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities, University of Cambridge, 18–19 July 2006 [online: http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/html/Hinterberger.html, last accessed 20-7-13].

70 The compilation and evolution of the lexica already reveal the tendency to bridge the gap between the Atticizing and the spoken language; cf. St. Matthaios, "Σοῦδα: Ο χαρακτήρας και η δυναμική ενός βυζαντινού εγκυκλοπαιδικού λεξικού", in J. N. Kazazis – A. Rengakos (eds.), *Πρακτικά 2ης ημερίδας λεξικογραφίας: Η λεξικογράφηση του ελληνικού πολιτισμού, αρχαίου, μεσαιωνικού και νεότερου. Τα σύγχρονα εγκυκλοπαιδικά λεξικά* (Thessaloniki, 2006), pp. 26–27. [Online: http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/files/document/conference-2003/012MatthaiosEl.pdf, last accessed 20-7-13].

71 Their sensibility becomes evident in various ways. On the example of Michael Psellos, see H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII. Ein Beitrag zur Erschließung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 15 (Vienna, 1981), p. 20 and n. 3. The confession of illiteracy, of σολοικίζειν and βαρβαρίζειν, was a common rhetorical topos of *captatio benevolentiae* in Byzantine letters and illustrates

The evolution and the dominant role of the spoken language is also revealed in translations of Atticizing texts (Hochsprache) into the Byzantine *koinē* (Schrift-Koine), not least through the grammatical and syntactical "errors" of the translators.[72]

As has been mentioned above, orthography, preserving the *antistoicha,* accentuation, punctuation etc. were skills particularly addressed in grammatical treatises and practiced in various ways through schedography. Their crucial role has been emphasized especially in exegetical and dogmatic writings. The writer's command of them became accordingly the subject of criticism or praise, a frequently recurring theme in letters.[73] The gravity of errors in transposing the spelling, accentuation and punctuation of the original text is implied by the punishments designated by Theodore the abbot of the Stoudios Monastery for careless copyists.[74]

Another noteworthy example is offered in the *Life of Kosmas the Hymnographer and John of Damascus* (BHG 394), wrongly attributed to Michael Synkellos (ca. 761–846).[75] The author recounts an episode from John's ascetic life, in order to underline the saint's mastery of the learned language and his humility.[76] While reading aloud the First Paschal Ora-

this perfectly, see *ibidem*. A characteristic example is the 29th letter of Theodore II Laskaris; N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII* (Florence, 1898), p. 38–39.

[72] The translators were educated in and familiar with the high level language, but they could not avoid misinterpretations of the original text as well as orthographic, morphological etc. "errors" in their translations; cf. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase*, pp. 24, 155, 255–258. Where there were fewer of these errors, it implies that the Byzantine translators were more influenced by the school tradition of the high-level language, as pointed out by H. Hunger – I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Basilikos Andrias und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 18 (Vienna, 1986), p. 306. On the term "Schrift-Koine" (instead of "Umgangssprache") see *ibidem*, p. 30.

[73] On what the Byzantines have to say about the role of punctuation, see A. Giannouli, "Introduction", in A. Giannouli – E. Schiffer (eds.), *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)*, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 29 (Vienna, 2011), pp. 17–24, at pp. 18–20.

[74] On penance 54, see J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866) (*PG*), vol. 99, col. 1740C. See also J. Featherstone, "A Note on Penances Prescribed for Negligent Scribes and Librarians in the Monastery of Studios", *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), 258–260, at 259–260; cf. Follieri, "Αντίστοιχα (see above n. 52)", 217–219.

[75] I owe this reference to my colleague Martin Hinterberger.

[76] Life of Kosmas the Hymnographer and John of Damascus, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg 1897, repr. 1963), pp. 285,4 –286,19.

tion of Gregory of Nazianzos before monks, John read βραδυτής and not βραδύτης, despite being instructed to the contrary by his spiritual father. Indeed his choice was correct in the context, since the word can have one of two meanings depending on its accentuation. For his correct reading and skill in interpreting the oration of the famous church father, John was commended by the educated members of his audience.[77] Considering the fact that in his day, namely the turn of the eighth century, majuscule letters and *scriptio continua* constituted major obstacles to reading and interpreting, the praise was truly merited.[78]

Moreover, the right choice and arrangement of words were considered essential for the high style and effectiveness of a speech.[79] Lexica and schedography served this purpose, though some textual witnesses doubt whether they were always entirely successful. One such witness, a literary one at that, derives from John Mauropous, who composed an epigram for the sole purpose of defending himself against a contemporary reader (a schedographer?) who criticized his linguistic competence. To be specific, his critic contested the choice of the preposition ἀντί in one of Mauropous's earlier epigrams.[80] The teacher and court rhetorician reacted by explaining first of all his preference in the context for this preposition rather than its suspension or replacement by another similar preposition. Then he turned the accusation back on his reader, by implying that his inability to understand the correct meaning of the verse was due to schedography. For, as he explained, unlike prose writers (λογογράφοι), schedographers were not known for their clarity.[81]

Further evidence, this time of a positive attitude towards schedography, is found in the works of Joseph I patriarch of Constantinople

[77] Gregory of Nazianzos' first paschal oration, Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα, *PG* 35, col. 396A: δῶμεν συγγνώμην ἀλλήλοις, ἐγώ τε ὁ τυραννηθεὶς τὴν καλὴν τυραννίδα, τοῦτο γὰρ νῦν προστίθημι, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ καλῶς τυραννήσαντες, εἴ τί μοι μέμφοισθε τῆς βραδυτῆτος, ὡς τάχα γε κρείττων αὕτη καὶ τιμιωτέρα Θεῷ τῆς ἑτέρων ταχυτῆτος.

[78] The need to interpret the words βραδύτης and βραδυτής according to their accentuation is already attested in the *scholia* on classical texts; see e.g. *Scholia et glossae in halieutica Oppiani (scholia vetera et recentiora)*, Hypothesis-book 2, schol. 59 "νωθής", ed. U. C. Bussemaker (Paris, 1849).

[79] On the five sources for the elevation of style (ὑψηγορία), see Longinus, *On the sublime*, 8,1,1–12, ed. D. A. Russell (Oxford, 1964).

[80] See Mauropous, epigram 32, l. 3, ed. P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882), p. 18: ἀνθ' οὗ [scil. ξύλου] πραθείς, ἔσωσε [scil. Χριστός] τοὺς κατ' εἰκόνα.

[81] See Mauropous, epigram 33, ll. 30–32 (op. cit., p. 18) : τὸ γὰρ σαφές τε καὶ πρόδηλον ἐν λόγοις | λογογράφοις ἥδιστον, οὐ σχεδογράφοις, | καὶ ταῦτα κλῆσιν τὸ σχέδην κεκτημένοις.

(1266–1275, 1282–1283), an opponent of the Union of the Churches declared at the Second Council of Lyon (1272–1274). In his *Apologia*, commenting on the Latin doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, the patriarch refers to grammarians, rhetoricians and philosophers for the correct interpretation of the prepositions ἐκ and διά, because the teaching of prepositions and their correct use belonged to the first, elementary courses in schedography.[82] Several examples illustrate similar attitudes towards schedography, as well as its close relation to literature.[83]

Through the practice of *mimēsis* of literary models students were provided with a rich repertoire of words, phrases and literary excerpts. Thus, it is no wonder that quotations from and reminiscences of literary texts from pagan and Christian antiquity appear later in their own works.[84] Classicizing historians, familiar with the classical historiographical models from their schooldays, imitated the methods and language of their predecessors; this is evident even in works written at the level of low *koinē*.[85] In this sense, the existence of *similia* in the works of various authors may be attributed more to their shared knowledge than to any direct influence they might have had on each other.[86] Furthermore, clarity and variation in wording and style, practiced through *paraphrasis* and

[82] *Apologia Josephi patriarchae*, ed. J. Darrouzès – V. Laurent (Paris, 1976), p. 161, ll. 10–12: Καὶ τοῦτο παρίσταται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ διὰ τοῦδέ τι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε· καὶ γραμματικοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ συνομολογοῦσιν, οἷς στοιχειώδης καὶ πρώτη τῆς παιδείας ἔναρξις ἄρτι τοῦ σχεδογραφεῖν ἀρχομένου ἡ περὶ τῶν προθέσεων διδασκαλία καθέστηκεν· οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὰς ῥητορικὰς ἐπτοημένοι μεθόδους καὶ τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀκρίβειαν, εὖ μάλα καὶ ἐπισταμένως οἶδα, τῷ λόγῳ συνθήσονται.

[83] *Schedē* of antistoichic character, such as the ones by Theodore Prodromos, show how thin the dividing line between these exercises and literature can be; cf. Vassis, "Τῶν νέων", p. 42ff. Similar examples by Tzetzes, see Hunger, *Literatur* (see above, n. 3), 2:27ff.

[84] Cf. e.g. the poetry of the 11th c.; W. Hörandner, « La poésie profane » (see above, n. 61), pp. 257–262.

[85] Malalas' Chronicle, for example, recounts at length stories about Greek legends, the majority of which "were likely to be read in the course of a standard education"; see E. M. Jeffreys, "The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers towards Ancient History", *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 199–238, at p. 224. On the impact of *progymnasmata* on Kekaumenos, see C. Roueché, "The Rhetoric of Kekaumenos", in E. Jeffreys (eds.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantium Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001* (Aldershot, 2003), 23–37, at pp. 31–37. On writers' erudition, see also A. R. Littlewood, "A Statistical Survey of the Incidence of Repeated Quotations in Selected Byzantine Letter-Writers", in J. Duffy – J. Peradotto (eds.), *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75* (Buffalo, 1988), pp. 137–154, at p. 152ff.

[86] This is the case with the similia in the works of Michael Psellos and Anna Komnene on the one hand and the histories of Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155–1217), Georgios

exergasia and schedography, were achieved in various ways by Byzantine authors, such as through grammatical tendencies[87] and translations.[88]

Conclusions

In conclusion, for a comprehensive overview of Byzantine Greek, it is essential that case studies should be made on particular topics of grammar, syntax and style.[89] These should be based on literary texts, taking into consideration the teaching material, where it exists. In this regard, philological tools such as lexica, encyclopedias, and literary models should also be examined. Special attention should be paid to the explicit awareness of this knowledge on the part of Byzantine authors. Their implementation of the relevant rules but above all their deviations from them, the variations and typical tendencies they exhibit provide us with an overall image of Byzantine Greek. Finally, apart from the above mentioned *desiderata*, another area for further investigation is the ways in which the Byzantines adjusted theory to suit their aesthetic. This research might take the form of studies on individual exercises and methods, such as the *progymnasmata* and the *schedē*, in parallel with an investigation of associated literary works.

Summary

The teaching of grammar and rhetoric enjoyed a prominent position in the Byzantines' secondary education. The exercises and methods em-

Akropolites (1217-1282) and Nikephoros Gregoras (ca. 1290 – ca. 1358) on the other; on this see D.R. Reinsch, "Zum Edieren" (see above, n. 45), pp. 302–303.

87 The pluperfect forms, a characteristic element of the high-level style, became interchangeable with aorist and imperfect forms in prose; M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur: Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur, gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Byzantinisches Archiv 20 (Munich–Leipzig, 2007), pp. 107–142, at pp. 129, 134 etc.

88 M. Hinterberger, "Hagiographische Metaphrasen. Ein möglicher Weg der Annäherung an die Literarästhetik der frühen Palaiologenzeit," in Rhoby – Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio* (see above, n. 39), pp. 137–152, at p. 139, n. 8.

89 Unfortunately, I was unable to access the illuminating article by F. Ranconi (see above, n. 17) until after the completion of this chapter. Thus, I have been unable to respond to some central points on which it focuses.

ployed for training in language skills reflect the six divisions of the art of grammar, as described by Dionysios Thrax. Moreover, Aelius Theon included in his *progymnasmata* five exercises devoted to reading, listening, paraphrase, elaboration and contradiction, and hinted in passing at the importance of analyzing, interpreting, memorizing, reciting and imitating. All of these played a significant role in linguistic training. Although no references to them survive in the later collections of *progymnasmata*, employment of these skills is occasionally mentioned e.g. in scattered notes or autobiographical references. From the eleventh century onwards new learning methods are attested: e.g. epimerisms, which focused on grammatical, prosodic and semantic analysis of each word, and schedography, aimed at improving the student's command of the grammatical, syntactical and orthographical rules as well as their vocabulary.

This grammatical and rhetorical knowledge is understandably reflected in the written language. The survival of the classical tradition and the coexistence of learned and spoken Greek were ensured as a result of this education, not least because of the rhetorical theory of *mimēsis*. Byzantine authors invariably display an awareness of style in their works. The crucial role of orthography, the keeping of the *antistoicha*, accentuation, punctuation etc. is explicitly emphasized, especially in exegetical and dogmatic writings. The writer's command of these aspects of language became accordingly the subject of criticism or praise, a theme often recurring in letters.

Therefore, case studies on particular topics of grammar, syntax and style are a prerequisite for a comprehensive overview of Byzantine Greek. Special attention should be paid to an explicit awareness of this knowledge.

JUAN SIGNES CODOÑER

THE DEFINITION OF THE MIDDLE VOICE IN ANCIENT AND BYZANTINE GRAMMARS

*A Guide for Understanding the Use of the Verb in Byzantine Texts Written in Classical Greek**

When approaching Byzantine texts in high style, modern scholars tend to consider four factors:

1. The Byzantine texts in high style themselves, including their morphology, syntax, vocabulary, style, etc.
2. Classical Greek texts, which provide the model for Byzantine learned authors who imitate them.
3. The Modern grammar of Classical Greek (hereafter *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek*), which more or less successfully establishes how Classical Greek must be understood, that is, the system of the language and its usages.
4. The Modern grammar of Medieval Greek (hereafter *Mod.Gram/Med.Greek*)[1], which provides us with an alternative pattern of language that constantly interferes with the Classical Greek and explains many of the deviations from the standard norm such as the restricted use of the optative or dative (syntax) or the errors of iotacism (phonetics).

While we have no objections against the importance of these four factors, we regret that no *(Mod.Gram)/Med.Greek* has yet been published, although David Holton and Geoffrey Horrocks have been working on one for many years at the University of Cambridge. However, some clarifications should be made concerning the third factor, the *Mod.Gram/*

* This study has been made possible by the funding provided by the Spanish research project FFI 2012-37908-C02-01.

[1] I write *(Mod.Gram)* in brackets as there was obviously no medieval grammar of the spoken Greek and, accordingly, this spoken register of the Greek influenced the writing habits of the learned Byzantines not through a grammar, but through their daily use.

Clas.Greek, as a tool for analysing Classical Greek. The *Mod.Gram/Clas. Greek* certainly provides us with criteria for understanding how Greek was spoken in Classical (or Ancient) times, but it does not work in the same way when it is used to examine texts later than the Classical period, for then the language was no longer a spoken language, but just a written (frozen) language. To put it another way, when the Greeks since Hellenistic times and later the Byzantines wrote in Classical Greek, they did not follow the patterns established by the *Mod.Gram/Clas. Greek* but based on the ancient grammatical tradition (hereafter *Anc. Gram/Clas.Greek*)

The consequences of this choice by the Byzantines are important for research into their linguistic uses of learned Greek. This may appear obvious, but the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* was essentially different from the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* as Roman Greeks and Byzantines conceptualised the language and its parts in a completely different way than we do – and this way surely influenced their understanding of Classical Greek and determined the way they wrote in imitation of it.

I want to prove this point by focusing on a particular problem that will perhaps be of some interest for understanding the usages of the Greek verb, specifically the voices, and particularly, the middle voice. I have chosen this topic, for in this particular case the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* has been strongly influenced by categories that were indeed established by the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*, but do not adequately represent the structure of the diathetical meanings of the Greek verb. Moreover, as I shall argue, the current tripartite division of the voices in the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* strongly misrepresented the given (and not necessarily natural) categories of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* for the latter never considered (with the exception of some scattered passages pertaining to the Stoic tradition and dating from the Hellenistic age)[2] more than two diathetical meanings in the structure of the verb: ἐνέργεια and πάθος. Indeed, for ancient grammarians the middle voice was never a regular diathesis in itself on the same level as the active and passive voices, but rather a formal anomaly only present in specific verbal paradigms.

[2] See, for example, Diogenes Laertius VII.64 for a summary of some of the Stoic views on the voices of the verb. Perhaps the most significant of them is Diogenes of Babylon (see Ch. Guérard, "Diogène de Séleucie dit le Babylonien" in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, vol. 2: *Babélyca d'Argos à Dyscolius*, Paris, 1994, 807-811).

My purpose here is, firstly, to describe the main phases in the evolution of the concept of middle voice from Antiquity to modern times. As I will soon develop this concept more fully in a book,[3] here I shall avoid unnecessary details and only consider in general lines how the ancient, medieval and modern grammarians developed different theories concerning the supposed value of the middle voice that eventually lead to the concept already prevailing in the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* (section 1). I will then attempt to shed some light on the confusion that has arisen in this process due to the ambiguous or fluctuant sense given to some categories. The ignorance or exclusion of the very concept of reflexivity as an integral part of the diathetical meaning of the Greek verb further contributed to confusing matters. It is therefore necessary to establish an unambiguous terminology in order to more accurately describe the linguistic phenomena involved (section 2). Finally, with the help of these previously defined categories and termini we will try to understand the criteria by which Ancient and Byzantine grammarians classified specific verbs into different diathetical categories (section 3). Some conclusions will follow mainly concerning the consequences of this analysis for an understanding of the classicist Greek of the Byzantine literature (section 4).

1. The Middle Voice from the Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek to the Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek

In an article published some years ago I listed up to five definitions of the middle voice in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*.[4] The causes for this confusing situation, which have not been properly understood in modern times,[5] are of a varied nature and difficult to summarise without entering into complex details concerning authors, texts and periods, which are

[3] See J. Signes Codoñer, *La voz media del verbo griego en la tradición gramatical desde la época helenística hasta la ilustración* (Salamanca, 2014), in press.

[4] J. Signes Codoñer, "The definitions of the Greek middle voice between Apollonius Dyscolus and Constantinus Lascaris", *Historiographia Linguistica* 32 (2005), 1-33.

[5] A. Rijksbaron, in "The Treatment of the Greek Middle by the Ancient Grammarians", *Cahiers de Philosophie Ancienne* 5 (1987), 427-444, already noted the heterogeneity of the definitions put forward by *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*. In "Remarks on Dionysius Thrax's concept of Diathesis", *Historiographia Linguistica* 21 (1994) 1-37, however, P. K. Andersen tried to force all of the definitions into a single common one.

obviously out of place here. Moreover, although we have the main manuals used by the Byzantines for grammatical instruction, these texts usually provide a very concise definition of the given categories and rarely explain the examples adduced (if any) for them. As a consequence, we can only surmise what the explanations were, for they pertained to the realm of oral teaching of the grammarians. Only dictionaries sometimes offer a clue when dealing with the syntax of concrete words.

Despite this rather confusing situation, one thing remains clear: the middle voice was never considered a diathetical meaning on its own at the same level as ἐνέργεια or πάθος[6] in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* until the Renaissance and even later. The middle voice was applied only to anomalous and ambiguous forms or to a limited amount of verbal paradigms whose meaning could be either ἐνέργεια or πάθος depending on the circumstances.[7]

Thus, when Pseudo-Dionysius Thrax provides a definition of the Greek verb in his fourth-century *Τέχνη γραμματική* §13,[8] he says that it is a word that renders, among other accidents, ἐνέργεια or πάθος (ῥῆμά ἐστι λέξις... ἐνέργειαν ἢ πάθος παριστᾶσα), that is to say, just *two* diathetical meanings. Some lines below, however, he mentions that there are *three* voices in the verb: διαθέσεις εἰσὶ τρεῖς, ἐνέργεια, πάθος, μεσότης. For ἐνέργεια he gives only τύπτω as an example, and for πάθος again just τύπτομαι. However, for μεσότης he refers to two aorist and two perfect tenses *of verbs other than τύπτω,* namely πέπηγα, διέφθορα, ἐποιησάμην and ἐγραψάμην. As indicated, no explanation is provided for the 'middle' meaning of these four tenses (this pertains to the oral teaching). Nonetheless, it is clear that the author considers the middle

6 I do not translate both terms as 'active' and 'passive' as is usually done for this is misleading, as I will try to explain below.

7 Verbs such as ζῶ or ὑπάρχω, without the passive voice, were regularly considered neutral, especially after Michael Syncellus § 76 (see below in § 3 for the edition). The 'neutral' voice ran parallel to the middle voice and was usually perceived to be more important. On the other hand, Greek deponent verbs such as ἔρχομαι or κάθημαι were given much less attention in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* and were ranked as a category of their own only at the very end of the Byzantine Empire on the basis of the *deponentia* of the Latin grammar.

8 For the date of the work and the edition see infra in § 3. The same goes for all other grammarians quoted in this section and without a corresponding note. For an overview of the main grammarians of Antiquity and Byzantine age, see R. H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History* (Berlin – New York, 1993) and E. Dickie, *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A guide to finding, reading, and understanding scholia, commentaries, lexica, and grammatical treatises from their beginnings to the Byzantine period* (Oxford, 2007).

voice neither a diathetical meaning (it is not mentioned in the definition of the verb along with the ἐνέργεια and πάθος) nor a regular form (for it is not exemplified by any form of the paradigmatic verb τύπτω).[9]

Later Byzantine authors relied mainly on the short treatise of Pseudo-Dionysius, which contained a coherent and systematic rendering of the grammar, and more particularly of concern to us here, of the voices of the verb. They complemented the treatise with comments borrowed from the earlier treatises of Apollonius Dyscolus (especially his syntax) and eventually of his son Herodian, whose work has, to a great extent, been lost.[10] Both authors, who lived in second-century Alexandria, represented the main exegetic corpus of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*. In the fifth century, Theodosius of Alexandria developed his *Εἰσαγωγικοὶ κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων* relying on this very same tradition.[11] Yet what we have now represents only the tip of the iceberg of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* as is made evident by the *Syntax* of Michael Syncellus written in backwater Edessa in the ninth century for it contains many interesting developments unknown elsewhere.

A first end to this process of digesting the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* can be found in the vast grammatical corpus of Georgius Choeroboscus, who wrote in the ninth century. Choeroboscus again explicitly explains the anomalous character of the middle voice in the long discussion he devoted to it in his *Κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων*. In his work, the author reflects upon (p. 9) the doubts of some grammarians

[9] The distinction made by Pseudo-Dionysius shares nothing in common with the modern differentiation in the Greek verb between *three* diatheseis and *two* voices, as put forward, for example, by Y. Duhoux, *Le verbe Grec ancien. Éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historiques* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000, 2nd ed.), pp. 103-127. Duhoux understands 'diathèse' as the formal distinction of the voices made either by active or passive endings, while at the same time he admits three 'voix' or diathetical meanings. Closer to the ancient understanding of the voice is the statement made by R. Kühner – B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2 vols. (Hannover – Leipzig, 1890-1892; repr. Hannover 1976), § 372.2 (p. 90): "Die Aktivform und die Medialform sind als eigentliche Arten (Genera) des Verbs anzusehen; die Passivform ist eine blosse Flexionsform der transitiven Verben, der Aktivform gegenüber".

[10] The most important of Herodian's texts regarding the Greek verb are the excerpts edited by J. La Roche, *Παρεκβολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος ἐκ τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ*, Programm des Akademischen Gymnasiums Wien (Vienna, 1863), 4-37.

[11] A. Hilgard, *Prolegomena. Theodosii Alexandrini canones, Georgii Choerbosci Scholia, Sophronii patriarchae Alexandrini excerpta*, Grammatici Graeci IV.1 (Leipzig, 1889).

regarding the mere existence of the category of 'middle' for some verbal forms or tenses as they considered that these could be simply labelled ἐνεργητικά or παθητικά according to their meaning (ἐκ τοῦ σημαινομένου). Choeroboscus argues that this cannot be the case for "in these middle (tenses) the character, that is to say the form, prevails over the speech[12] (ὁ χαρακτήρ, ἤγουν ὁ τύπος, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπεκράτησεν ἐπὶ τούτων) as in the names the character often prevails over the meaning" (ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι πολλάκις τοῦ σημαινομένου ἐπικρατεῖ ὁ χαρακτήρ). He then refers to the neutral name παιδίον that is neither masculine nor feminine although it can be applied to both man and woman. More significantly, in a further, more detailed discussion of the middle voice (p. 101), Choeroboscus compares it with the common (ὁ/ἡ ἄνθρωπος) and epicene (ὁ ἀετός – ἡ χελιδών) genders and says that it is only the fact that these genders have not their own forms, which prevents them from being considered on equal terms to the masculine, feminine and neutral genders. It is clear that for the grammarian the middle voice is more of a morphological issue than a semantic marker. Moreover, for Choeroboscus the middle voice is an anomaly, a malfunction between form and meaning. Certainly, it may appear that Choeroboscus is almost lending the middle voice a third neutral(ised) value as in the neutral gender. However, he does not come to that, for he, as in all grammatical works, always rendered μεσότης in terms of either ἐνέργεια or πάθος.

This circumstance explains that the middle tenses were never listed in a third column apart from the columns of the ἐνέργεια and πάθος in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*. A good example is provided by the Chester Beatty Codex AC 1499 (ca. 200 AD)[13] which contains lists of forms of the oxytone, baritone and mi verbs that are always divided into two blocks with the forms of the middle always interspersed among the forms of the ἐνέργεια and πάθος, as shown in the following table:

[12] One would have expected 'meaning' here, but the text uses the genitive φωνῆς. However, the sense of the sentence is clear for what immediately follows.

[13] A. Wouters, *The Chester Beatty Codex AC 1499. A Graeco-Latin Lexicon on the Pauline Epistles and a Greek Grammar* (Louvain-Paris, 1988).

Distribution of the tenses of the verb according to voices in the *Anc. Gram/Clas.Greek*

Ἐνέργεια	Πάθος
1. τύπτω	1. τύπτομαι
2. ἐτύπτον	2. ἐτυπτόμην
3. τέτυφα τέτυπα (middle)	3. τέτυμμαι
4. ἐτετύφειν ἐτετύπειν (middle)	4. ἐτετύμμην
5. ἔτυψα ἔτυπον (2nd aor.)	5. ἐτύφθην ἐτύπην (2nd aor.) ἐτυψάμην (middle) ἐτυπόμην (middle, 2nd aor.)
6. τύψω τυπῶ (2nd fut.)	6. τυφθήσομαι τυπήσομαι (2nd fut.) τύψομαι (middle) τυποῦμαι (middle, 2nd fut.)
	7. τετύψομαι

As can be seen, the middle forms are considered equivalent to alternative forms of perfect, aorist and future, and even include what we usually call "second" forms of these last tenses. They represent variants, allomorphs, but not new diathetical values.

Things only changed when Theodore Gaza distributed the forms of the Greek verb in three columns for the first time in the history of Greek grammar.[14] His motivation was one of pure convenience: he wanted to distribute all the forms of the middle in a single column in the verbal *κανόνες* in order to teach them separately given the special and problematic forms they were. This circumstance forced him to fill the void of the middle present and imperfect that had not been considered middle

[14] See, for example, the Aldine edition: Theodorus Gaza, *Institutionis grammaticae libri IV* (Venice, 1495).

tenses before him.[15] For exactly the same reason, he put the so-called "second" forms of the verbal tenses at the end of each column:

Distribution of the tenses of the verb according to the *Institutionis grammaticae libri IV* of Theodore Gaza.

[In the πάθος column, the forms are ordered according to their correspondence with the other two columns, but the original numerical order in which they were listed in Gaza's treatise is indicated]

Ἐνέργεια	Μεσότης	Πάθος
1. τύπτω	1. τύπτομαι (new)	1. τύπτομαι
2. ἔτυπτον	2. ἐτυπόμην (new)	2. ἐτυπτόμην
3. τύψω	3. τύψομαι	6. τυφθήσομαι
4. ἔτυψα	4. ἐτυψάμην	5. ἐτύφθην
5. τέτυφα	5. τέτυπα	3. τέτυμμαι
6. ἐτετύφειν	6. ἐτετύπειν	4. ἐτετύμμην
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7. **ἔτυπον** (2nd aor.)	7. **ἐτυπόμην** (2nd aor.)	7. **ἐτύπην** (2nd aor.)
8. **τυπῶ** (2nd fut.)	8. **τυποῦμαι** (2nd fut.)	8. **τυπήσομαι** (2nd fut.)
		9. τετύψομαι

Gaza's aim was to bring some order to the 'morphological' chaos of the Greek verb for his Italian students. The point is, however, that Gaza never gave a diathetical meaning to the middle voice that continued to share the diathetical values of the ἐνέργεια and πάθος. However, Gaza's innovation was hugely successful and had an immediate impact on the grammars of the Renaissance. Indeed, most of them gradually adopted the tripartite division of the Greek voices, but did not provide a new definition of the middle voice.

[15] Among the writers on the *AncGram/Clas.Greek*, some grammarians have indeed referred to middle *verbs* exemplified by the middle present, but they differentiated these from the middle *tenses*. Gaza confounded both aspects in his table. For more on the confusion arising from these different approaches see § 2 below.

More than two hundred years later, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, scholars already considered the tripartite division of the voices in the Greek verb as a natural thing. Curiously enough, nobody thus far had attempted to give the middle voice a new diathetical meaning.

Ludolf Küster (Blomberg [Westphalia] 1670-Paris 1716) did so for the first time in his treatise *De vero usu verborum mediorum apud Graecos eorumque differentia a verbis activis et passivis* published in Paris in 1714. This was in fact the first monograph ever published on the middle voice. Küster took for granted that the middle voice, so nicely isolated in its own column in the grammatical tables, had to have a diathetical meaning of its own. Probably misunderstanding the ancient definitions of the middle voice as *alternatively* sharing the active and passive diathetical meanings, he thought that the middle voice expressed active and passive *at the same time* and concluded that this value cannot be other than the reflexive.

Although Küster's theory had some followers during the eighteenth century and triggered further debate in Germany, it would not be until the very end of that century that it was incorporated in the general grammars of Classical Greek and become a standard concept in the definition of the middle voice in the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek*. The debt of the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* to Küster, however, was silenced in the most important and large grammars of the nineteenth century for his innovation was slowly being considered not an innovation as such, but rather a natural rendering of the diathetical system of the Greek verb which was also congruous with the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* (which was in fact not the case as we have seen). Thus, Küster's innovation and his name were first silenced (there was no concurrent explanation after all) and then forgotten. The middle voice later developed into a universal prompted by the prestige of Classical Greek.[16]

2. Some preliminary questions on semantics and terminology

Küster's innovation, and especially the fact that he was believed to faithfully interpret both the diathetical system of the Greek verb and its definition in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*, was the last step in a chain of misunderstandings based on an inadequate rendering of the value of some grammatical

16 S. Kemmer, *The middle voice* (Amsterdam, 1993).

terms. To begin with, it was generally assumed that the ancient πάθος was to be translated as 'passivity' in a parallel manner to the meaning the terms 'passivitas' or 'passivus' acquired in Latin grammars. This interpretation was prompted by the visual impact of the three-column system created by Theodore Gaza: by expelling the middle forms from the πάθος column, Gaza rendered this column even more 'passive' in the eyes of contemporary grammarians who were accustomed to the Latin models.

However, the term πάθος most probably simply meant 'affection' in accordance with the primary meaning of the Greek term related to the verb πάσχω. This means that under πάθος, the Greek grammarians likely included some reflexive values, for in both passive and reflexive verbs the subject is affected by the action. This is the first paradox as the term πάθος in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* was wholly compatible with the reflexive values we attribute to the middle voice today.

One should perhaps have expected that if the πάθος category had had reflexive values according to the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*, then the Greek grammarians had somehow mentioned it. Yet this appears to have never been the case. In fact, ancient grammarians (almost without exception) seem to be wholly unable to detect reflexive values: reflexivity is exclusively linked to personal pronouns. Reflexive values are always interpreted as πάθος or ἐνέργεια by Byzantine grammarians.

The best example is provided by the *Περὶ γραμματικῆς διάλογος* of Maximus Planudes.[17] In the very beginning of the dialogue (pp. 8-12), the teacher Palaitimos discusses the nature of reflexive verbs with his student Neophron. A form such as λούομαι is then rendered as ὁ ἑαυτὸν λούων. Although the disciple is inclined to appreciate some 'middle road' between active and passive in this usage, the teacher immediately labels it as 'active' "because it does not happen that the person suffers this action by another" (ὅτι μὴ τοῦτό γε συμβέβηκεν ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου πάσχειν). Active is therefore interpreted as the absence of an agent other than the subject. Palaitimos further compares activity and passivity with hot and cold: there is no possibility of a compromise between two incompatible concepts![18]

Obviously, the difficulty of explaining Greek through Greek and the denial of any diachronic change in the patterns of Classical

[17] L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1828), here vol. 2, pp. 3-101.

[18] There was of course a philosophical basis for this as clearly explained in Chapter 9 περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν in Simplicius' Commentary on Aristotle's Categories; see K. Kalbfleisch, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 295-334.

Greek prevented Greek grammarians in both Antiquity and Byzantine times from recognising how the reflexive values were variously expressed in Greek depending on the period. Comparison with the Latin provided Macrobius in the fifth century with a tool that Byzantine emigrants acquired only in the fourteenth century when teaching their Italian students.[19] But then Gaza adjusted the canons of the verb to a clearer morphological distribution of the variants, without re-considering the semantics of the verbal diatheseis. No grammarian ever considered the reason for the emergence of reflexive pronouns in Attic Greek or even linked it with the changing patterns of the verbal voices.

To complicate the problem further, the tripartite division of the verbal forms put forward by Gaza led to confusion between middle paradigms (μέσα ῥήματα) and middle tenses (μέσοι χρόνοι), which had been treated hitherto as different categories in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*. The paradigms included a few verbs classified as 'middle' due to their ambivalence towards πάθος and ἐνέργεια (the most common example was βιάζομαι), whereas the tenses included some particular aorist and perfect forms labelled 'middle' for this very same reason, but which are not necessarily present in all the verbs.

Finally, the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* uses the middle voice in a sense that does not reflect the uses of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*. It is not only that the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* has a very complex notion of the middle voice[20] as a consequence of its transformation into a universal category. The real problem lies in the fact that the modern concept of the Greek middle voice integrates all reflexive usages, that is to say, both direct and indirect reflexive values,[21] whereas the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* does not, as we shall now see. In order to understand the nature of the diathesis in the Greek verb, it is important to make a distinction between both types

19 J. Signes Codoñer, "La diátesis del verbo griego según Macrobio o la *ratio* latina en gramática", in G. Hinojo Andrés – C. Fernández Corte (eds.), *Munus quaesitum meritis. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer* (Salamanca, 2007), pp. 805-813.

20 R. J. Allan, *The middle voice in Ancient Greek. A Study in polysemy* (Amsterdam, 2003).

21 See R. Risselada, "Voice in Ancient Greek: reflexives and passives", in J. van der Auwera – L. Goossens (eds.), *Ins and outs of the predication* (Dordrecht, 1987), pp. 123-136 for an overview on the reflexive and passive values of the Greek middle voice. Risselada considers the development of the middle voice both synchronically and diachronically according to the valency reduction theory of functional grammar. Some further clarifications on the topic can be found in J. Méndez Dosuna, "El verbo en griego antiguo. Las categorías verbales de persona, número y voz" available at *www.liceus.com*.

of reflexivity. Such a distinction, however, is often neglected in the common grammars of the Greek language when dealing with the voice:[22]

1) Direct reflexive applies when the subject of the reflexive verb is perceived at the same time, either syntactically or semantically, as the direct object of the action: λούεται / λούεται ἑαυτόν / λούεται τὸ σῶμα He washed himself.
2) Indirect reflexive refers to a reflexive verb that has a direct object different from the subject or, to put it in other terms, where the agent and the beneficiary of the action are identical but other than the goal or direct object: ἐποιήσατο ἄδειαν He obtained immunity for himself.

Although, as we have said, both values are a constituent part of the middle voice as defined in the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek*, we suggest that their values were distributed in a different manner in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* which could be summarised as follows:

1) ἐνέργεια or ἐνεργητικὴ διάθεσις assumes both active and indirect reflexive values
2) πάθος or παθητικὴ διάθεσις (to be rendered as 'affective' voice) assumes both passive and direct reflexive values
3) μεσότης or μέση διάθεσις assumes both ἐνέργεια and πάθος values depending on paradigms or verbal tenses

We will now put this scheme to test by considering whether the adscription of any given middle form (be it a paradigm or a tense) to either ἐνέργεια or πάθος in the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* is coincidental with an indirect or direct reflexive value.

3. How did Ancient and Byzantine Grammarians Classify the Diathetical Meaning of Specific Verbs?

In order to determine the criteria followed by the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* to classify the middle forms as active or passive, we have first

[22] See, for example, Duhoux, *Le verbe Grec ancien* (see above n. 7), pp. 103-127. In contrast, A. Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and semantics of the verb in Classical Greek. An Introduction* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 135-143 uses the categories of direct or indirect reflexivity to establish classes among the middle verbs.

selected a few passages on the middle voice from Ancient and Byzantine grammarians. Some examples of middle paradigms (verbs) or middle tenses are given in the passages and the corresponding author considers if the paradigm should be included in the ἐνέργεια or πάθος. I mark the value given *in the text* to the middle forms cited here with [E] (=ἐνέργεια) or [Π] (=πάθος). I leave aside only the middle perfect forms (they are old middle intransitive perfects with active endings) not only because they have nothing to do with our modern concept of middle perfect, but also because their analysis goes beyond the scope of the present paper.[23]

1. Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd c. AD): *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*: J. Lallot, ed., *Apollonius Dyscole, De la construction*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1997).

> [III §30] Ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ διαθέσεως τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιδεῖξαι. τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα μέσα σχήματα συνέμπτωσιν ἀνεδέξατο ἐνεργητικῆς καὶ παθητικῆς διαθέσεως, ὥς γε ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιδείξομεν ἐν τῇ δεούσῃ συντάξει τῶν ῥημάτων, καὶ ἔνθεν οὐ παρὰ τὰς διαθέσεις ἁμαρτάνεται. τὸ γὰρ ἐλουσάμην καὶ ἐποιησάμην καὶ ἐτριψάμην καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἔχει ἐκδηλοτάτην τὴν σύνταξιν ὁτὲ μὲν ἐνεργητικήν, ὁτὲ δὲ παθητικήν, εἴγε τὸ ἔτριψα τοῦ ἐτριψάμην [Π] διαφέρει καὶ τὸ ἔλουσα τοῦ ἐλουσάμην [Π], παράκειται δὲ τῷ ἐποίησα τὸ ἐποιησάμην [E] καὶ ἔτι τῷ προῆκα τὸ προηκάμην [E].

2. [Ps.] Dionysius Thrax (4th c. AD)[24]: *Τέχνη γραμματική*: J. Lallot, ed., *Apollonius Dyscole, De la construction* (Paris, 1997).

> [§13] Διαθέσεις εἰσὶ τρεῖς, ἐνέργεια, πάθος, μεσότης· ἐνέργεια μὲν οἷον τύπτω, πάθος δὲ οἷον τύπτομαι, μεσότης δὲ ἡ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνέργειαν ποτὲ δὲ πάθος παριστᾶσα, οἷον πέπηγα διέφθορα ἐποιησάμην [E] ἐγραψάμην [E].

3. Michael Syncellus (9th c. AD): *Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως*: D. Donnet, ed., *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem. Histoire du texte, édition, traduction et commentaire* (Brussels and Rome, 1982).

[23] P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris, 1927) remains a reference work.

[24] For this dating see V. di Benedetto, "Dionisio Trace e la Techne a lui attribuita", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. II, 28 (1959), 87-118, and idem, "La techne spuria", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. III, 3 (1973), 797-814.

[§76] Τῶν ῥημάτων τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἐνεργητικά, τὰ δὲ παθητικά, τὰ δὲ οὐδέτερα· ἔστι δὲ καὶ μέσα. Ἐνεργητικὰ μέν· γράφω, τύπτω· παθητικὰ δέ· γράφομαι [Π], τύπτομαι· οὐδέτερα δὲ τουτέστι τὰ μήτε ἐνέργειαν μήτε πάθος σημαίνοντα, οἷον· ζῶ, πλουτῶ, πτωχεύω, ὑπάρχω· μέσα δέ, ἤτοι τὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνέργειαν, ποτὲ δὲ πάθος δηλοῦντα, οἷον· βιάζομαι [Ε/Π], κομίζομαι [Ε/Π], κολάζομαι[Ε/Π].

4. Georgius Choiroboscus (9th c. AD): *Κάνονες περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων*: A. Hilgard, ed., *Choerobosci scholia in canones verbales et Sophronii excerpta e Characis commentario*, Grammatici Graeci IV.2 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 1-372.

[p. 4] καὶ γὰρ ἡ μεσότης ἢ ἐνέργειαν ἢ πάθος, ἕτερον δὲ οὐδὲν σημαίνει· ἐνέργειαν μέν, οἷον τέτυπα καὶ ἐγραψάμην [Ε] ἀντὶ τοῦ τέτυφα καὶ ἔγραψα, πάθος δέ, οἷον τέτηκα καὶ ἐλουσάμην [Π] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐτάκην καὶ ἐλούσθην.

[p. 9] Διαθέσεις δέ εἰσι τρεῖς, ἐνέργεια πάθος μεσότης· ἐνέργεια μέν, οἷον τύπτω, πάθος δέ, οἷον τύπτομαι, μεσότης δέ, ἥτις ποτὲ μὲν ἐνέργειαν ποτὲ δὲ πάθος παρίστησιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέτυπα καὶ τέτηκα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τέτυπα ἐνέργειαν δηλοῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτυψα, τὸ δὲ τέτηκα πάθος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐτάκην· καὶ πάλιν ἐγραψάμην καὶ ἐλουσάμην· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐγραψάμην [Ε] ἐνέργειαν δηλοῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔγραψα, τὸ δὲ ἐλουσάμην [Π] πάθος παρίστησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλούσθην.

5. Heliodorus (10th-11th c. AD): *Scholia Marciana*: A. Hilgard, ed., *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, Grammatici Graeci I.3 (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 292-442.

[p. 401] Μέση δὲ καλεῖται διάθεσις, ὅταν ἡ αὐτὴ φωνὴ χωρῇ εἴς τε ἐνέργειαν καὶ <εἰς> πάθος, ὡς τὸ βιάζομαι [Ε/Π]· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἐνέργειαν καὶ <εἰς> πάθος, οἷον ἐὰν εἴπω βιάζομαί σε καὶ βιάζομαι ὑπὸ σοῦ. Ἢ πάλιν μέση ἐστὶ διάθεσις, ὅταν τῷ αὐτῷ ῥήματι τυπῶ μόνον πάθος καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ῥήματι τυπῶ μόνον ἐνέργειαν, ὡς ὁ εἰς *μην* τύπος· μέσος γάρ ἐστι μόνων παθητικῶν καὶ πάλιν μόνων ἐνεργητικῶν· καὶ ἐνεργητικῶν μὲν μόνων ἐγραψάμην [Ε] ἐφάμην [Ε], παθητικῶν δὲ μόνων ἐτριψάμην [Π] ἠλειψάμην [Π]· ἴσην γὰρ ἔχουσι δύναμιν κατὰ σημασίαν τῷ ἐτρίφθην καὶ ἠλείφθην παθητικῷ τύπῳ.

The middle forms provided as an example in these passages can now be divided into two groups:

- **I.** Cases where a middle form with passive endings is admitted to have ἐνέργεια meaning by the grammarians (and eventually also πάθος).
- **II.** Cases where the middle form is acknowledged to have only πάθος meaning.

To better understand the semantics and diathetical uses of the middle forms listed in the two groups, we now need to provide some examples. These will be taken from a small number of Greek historical texts, mainly Thucydides and Herodotus for the Classics and a small corpus of historians for the Byzantines (Theophanes, George the Monk, Genesius, Theophanes Continuatus, Symeon the Logothete, Michael Psellus, Michael Attaliates, John Scylitzes).[25] Given the limitations of the present article, we shall quote just two examples for each middle form – one from the Attic historians and the other from the Byzantines – to explain why a given form is considered ἐνέργεια or πάθος by the grammarians. Instrumental in this procedure are, as mentioned, the concepts of direct and indirect reflexivity. In order to make the affection of the subject by the verbal action clearer, where possible I mark the words that render the reflexive meaning of the original Greek verbal form in italics in the English translation.

I. Middle form = ἐνέργεια with indirect reflexive value

I.1. **βιάζομαι** (mentioned in 3 [Sync.], 5 [Heliod.])

– Thuc. VII.72.3: Δημοσθένης... γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο πληρώσαντας ἔτι τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν βιάσασθαι [E], ἢν δύνωνται, ἅμα ἕῳ τὸν ἔκπλουν – 'Demosthenes delivered his opinion for going once again aboard of the remaining ships and forcing *their* passage out, if it were possible, at dawn'.

– Michael Attaliates 295: τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ξιφήρεις ἐβιάζοντο [E] ἄνοδον – 'They forced *their* way up against him armed with swords'.

Comment: In both examples βιάζομαι has a clear indirect reflexive use as the subject is the beneficiary of the verbal action and τὸν ἔκπλουν and τὴν ἄνοδον are the direct objects. Absolute intransitive uses are derivative as in Thuc. VII.69.4: ἔπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ λιμένος... βουλόμενοι βιάσασθαι [E] ἐς τὸ ἔξω – 'They proceeded straight to the closed mouth of the harbour, intending to force *their way* to the open sea'. These uses are not found in the small corpus of our Byzantine historians, except in compounds with preverb, as in Psellus, *Chronographia* 7, *Const.* 8: ὁ δὲ ἀπεβιάζετο καὶ ὑπεχώρει λαμπρῶς – 'but he forced *his way* out (that is: resisted the pressure for appointing him emperor) and escaped honourably'.

[25] The editions are those included in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu (last access 1.8.2013).

I.2. **ἐγραψάμην** (mentioned in 2 [Dion.], 4 [Choir.], 5 [Heliod.]):

– Th. VIII.67.2: ἤν δέ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψηται [E] παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ τρόπῳ βλάψῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν – 'They threatened with severe penalties anybody who indicted the proposer for unconstitutional action, or otherwise offered injury to him'.

Comment: Classical values in the middle are 'note down something for *oneself*, indict one', accordingly an indirect reflexive. Exceptionally, it also appears with a direct reflexive value in the meaning 'enrol *oneself*', cf. Plato, *Laws* 850b: ἐπιδημοῦντι μὴ πλέον ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἂν γράψηται – 'residing in the city for no more than twenty years since he inscribed *himself*'. Both values are, if not unattested, rare in Byzantine authors. For the sense of 'to note down something' they use instead καταγράφω, either in the middle (John Scyl. *Leo V* 11, line 63: ναυτίλοι τὸν καιρόν τε καὶ τὴν νύκτα καταγραψάμενοι 'The sailors noted down *for themselves* the hour of the night [at which a wonder happened]') or in the active (Georg. Monk p. 510, line 3: ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἄθλιος καταγράψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν ἐν χάρτῃ '... for the wretched had noted down *his* creed on a sheet'). In the last case they may stress the indirect reflexive value with the help of reflexive pronouns (ἑαυτοῦ in the example of George the Monk). They further use verbs such as κατηγορέω and καταγιγνώσκω for 'to accuse, indict one' or καταλέγω and συγκαταλέγω for 'to enrol'. As a consequence, Syncellus in text 3 substitutes γράφομαι for ἐγραψάμην and considers the present as only πάθος, probably meaning passive and not direct reflexive.

I.3. **κολάζομαι** (mentioned in 3 [Sync.]):

– Xen., Anab. II.5.13: Αἰγυπτίους δέ [...] οὐχ ὁρῶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης – 'As for the Egyptians [...] I do not see what force you could better employ to aid you in *getting* them chastised than the force which I now have.'

Comment: The use is already not very frequent among Classical writers (see further Xen. Thuc. VI.78.1). No instance of it appears in our corpus of Byzantine historians, who always use κολάζομαι with a passive value.

I.4. **κομίζομαι** (mentioned in 3 [Sync.]):

– Thuc. I.43.1: νῦν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιοῦμεν κομίζεσθαι [E] – '... and we claim to *receive* the same measure at your hands'.

– Theoph. 280.3-4: ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ κατὰ ψυχὴν νόμισμα ἓν κομιζόμενος [E] παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ – 'I shall give him back the prisoners if *I receive* from him one nomisma per head'.

COMMENT: This value is frequent in our corpus of Byzantine historians. However, as the passive value of the verb is also regularly employed with unanimated subjects, ambiguity may occasionally arise. For instance, George the Monk 524.15: *ὅτε γοῦν ἐκομίζετο αὐτῷ γράμματα* should, despite the word order, be interpreted as passive ('... when the letter was brought to *him*') and not as active ('... when he received the letter for *him*') because of the personal pronoun. This circumstance may explain why compounds with προς- ἐκ-, ἐπι- are also used by the Byzantines for the sake of clarity.

I.5. **ἐποιησάμην** (mentioned in 1 [Apol.], 2 [Dion.]):

– Thuc. VI.60.3: *λέγων δὲ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὡς χρὴ, εἰ μὴ καὶ δέδρακεν, αὐτόν τε ἄδειαν ποιησάμενον* [E] *σῶσαι* – 'His companion (in the jail) told him and convinced him that it was necessary, even if he did not commit any fault, to obtain immunity *for him* in order to escape'.

– Theoph. 259.24: *ὁ δὲ Φιλιππικὸς αὖθις εἰς Βυζάντιον τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιήσατο* [E] – 'Philippicus again made *his* way to Byzantium'.

COMMENT: This use is very common both in Classical and Byzantine authors, probably because of the desemantisation of the verb ποιέω in the middle voice.

I.6. **προηκάμην** (mentioned in 1 [Apol.]):

– Th. II.73.3: *ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ... Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ ὑμᾶς προέσθαι* [E] *ἀδικουμένους* – 'Men of Platea! ... the Athenians say that they have never on any occasion deserted you when you were being wronged'.

– John Scyl., *Michael III* 13.6: *μάστιξι κελεύσαντα παίειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτι μὴ περαιτέρω προήκατο* [E] *τοῦτον χωρεῖν* – '... ordering to beat the sea with strokes of the lash, for this did not allow him to proceed further'.

COMMENT: Of the Classical authors, Homer uses only the active, but the middle voice is more popular in later authors, who use it preferentially. Nonetheless, both values can be present in the same author, as occurs for example in Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* VII.1.22: *πρόετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν... τάξιν*). The middle voice is usually the only one found in the Byzantine authors for the active is considered an archaism.

I.7. **ἐφάμην** (mentioned in [5 Heliod.]):

COMMENT: Middle aorist has the same value as the active and the uses only reflect stylistic preferences.

II. Middle form = πάθος with direct reflexive value[26]

II.1. **ἠλειψάμην** (mentioned in 5 [Heliod.]):

– Th. I.6.5: λιπὰ μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο [Π] – '(The Lacedaemonians) anointed *themselves* over with oil in their athletic exercises'.

Comment: The example from Thucydides is an indirect reflexive value according to a strict syntactical rule as the verb has a direct object, λιπά. However, the sense is clearly direct reflexive as the parallel with λούομαι (and to a lesser extent τρίβομαι) proves. Therefore, the accusative λιπὰ may be understood as an accusative of relation. In fact, Homer uses the same verb with dative (see *Iliad* 10.577: τὼ δὲ λοεσσαμένω καὶ ἀλειψαμένω λίπ' ἐλαίῳ). No instance of this value is found in our corpus of Byzantine historians, although, it must be conceded, there was probably no need for them to use the middle form of the verb. In any case, the confusion arising from the passive form of the very popular verb καταλείπω (καταλειφθείς) may explain the lack of popularity of the verb among Byzantines, who instead preferred variants of the verbs χρίω and μυρίζω. An interesting case is that of the doublet found in Sym. Log. 130.24: τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας ἀναχρίεσθαι προστάξας ἢ ἀπαλείφεσθαι, 'ordering the icons to be whitewashed or wiped off'. See §4 for the uses of ἀλείφω.

II.2. **ἐλουσάμην** (mentioned in 1 [Apol.], 4 [Choir.]):

– Hdt. V.74.2: οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι … οὐ … λούονται [Π] ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα – 'The Scythians do not wash *their* bodies at all with water'.

– George the Monk 717.23-718.2: ποιήσας οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔτη ϛ´ ἀναιρεῖται λουόμενος [Π] ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ – '… after residing in Sicily for six years he was killed when he was washing (*himself*?) in the bath'.

Comment: As in II.1, despite taking the direct object τὸ σῶμα, the verb λούονται is used as a direct reflexive in the example of Herodotus as the body is part of the subject. The case of George the Monk is more ambiguous since the emperor was probably attended by servants when

[26] The verb τύπτομαι (mentioned in 2 [Dion.], 3 [Sync.], 4 [Choir.]) is excluded from the present list for it is always presented as πάθος form with πάθος meaning. A direct reflexive value of τύπτομαι is found in ancient authors such as Hdt. II.61.1: τύπτονται [Π] γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυρίαδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων – 'for the whole multitude, both of men and women, many thousands in number, beat *themselves* at the close of the sacrifice (to Isis)' although it does not appear in our corpus of Byzantine historians. This cannot be a coincidence, for if the form had had any direct reflexive meaning, the Byzantines would have classified it as a middle form with πάθος meaning.

taking a bath. When the direct reflexive value needs to be emphasised, Byzantines use the active form with a reflexive pronoun as Planudes did in the passage quoted above when discussing the middle value of λούομαι. See also Psellus, *Oratio* 8, lines 205-206: λούει καθ' ἑκάστην τοῖς δάκρυσιν οὐ κλίνην οὐδὲ στρωμνήν (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχεν) ἀλλ' ἑαυτόν – 'He (John the Baptist living in the deserted mountains) washed each day with his tears, not his bed or mattress – for he had not – but *himself*'.

II.3. **ἐτριψάμην** (mentioned in 1 [Apol.], 5 [Heliod.]):

– Callimachus, *Hymn* 5, 25-26: ἐμπεράμως ἐτρίψατο [Π] λιτὰ βαλοῖσα / χρίματα, τᾶς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς – '(Pallas) skilfully anointed *herself* with simple unguents, the birth of her own tree'.

COMMENT: The verb is extremely rare in direct reflexive value without preverb. Indeed, only two instances of a middle aorist indicative without preverb have been found in the Classical and Byzantine literature, both of Callimachus (with the exception of the examples of the grammarians).

4. A Provisional Balance and Strategies for Further Research

The small sample of middle forms considered in the previous pages does not allow us to reach any definitive conclusion, but it does perhaps offer some clues that will prove helpful for further research in the field.

The Byzantine grammarians preserved the basic categories of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* when dealing with the voices of the Greek verb although they also introduced new secondary classifications that they developed into new categories until the fifteenth century. The definitions of the middle voice changed from time to time and from author to author, but the middle forms put forward as an example of the middle voice always remained a small group. The concrete problems posed by the meaning of these limited number of forms were rarely commented upon and we can surmise that this task was left to oral teaching.

In any case, we have proved so far that whenever a middle form (be it ῥῆμα or χρόνος) is direct reflexive, it tends to be considered πάθος by the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*, whereas whenever a middle form is indirect reflexive, it is instead considered ἐνέργεια. We do, however, doubt that the Byzantine grammarians were perfectly aware of the syntactic and semantic criteria that laid the grounds for this classification.

In fact, as we have seen, Byzantine writers frequently did not interpret the middle forms put forward as examples by their grammarians in the same way as these forms were used by the Classical writers who served as their literary models. However, Byzantine grammarians did not even think of substituting the inherited examples of the middle forms. In our small sample of cases, Michael Syncellus is the only one who introduces changes for he quotes γράφομαι as a πάθος present, surely with the passive meaning 'I am written', obviously more frequent with unanimated subjects in the third person. Before him (and also after him) the verb was quoted in the aorist (ἐγραψάμην) as a middle form, but Syncellus probably considered it παθητικός because its use as an indirect reflexive in Ancient Greek had become very rare in Byzantine prose, and its use as a direct reflexive was already exceptional in Ancient Greek.

This remains a single instance as Byzantine grammarians, in general, continued to quote the same middle forms as examples in their grammars. As they obviously wanted to preserve the Ancient uses, they naturally avoided sanctioning new usages or changing the examples. However, as our analysis has made clear, the middle forms quoted in the Byzantine grammars were often used in a different way by contemporary writers. In some cases, the single form of the verb was substituted by a compound with a preverb that made the meaning clearer, it was substituted by another verb, or the reflexive value was instead expressed through an active form with the reflexive pronoun. As we have seen, even in our small sample of cases, it remains difficult to find direct or indirect uses of the middle forms cited here as in the cases of ἐγραψάμην, κολάζομαι, ἠλειψάμην, and ἐτριψάμην.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to consider the changes as merely a problem of lexicography. The verbal diathetical system had completely changed since the Classical period, which supplied the canon of texts taken as a linguistic pattern for later Greek authors. The increasing percentage of aorist passive and future passive forms (in -θην and -θησομαι) in the spoken language compared to Archaic and Classical Greek usages (consider for example the complete absence of future passive in Homer)[27] was not just destabilising for the old diathetical system, but a clear symptom of the adoption of a new pattern: since the Hellenistic

[27] Middle future was used with passive meaning until the very age of Demosthenes, thus proving its recent appearance. On the contrary, middle aorist forms with passive value are already rare in Homer and limited to thematic aorists; see Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik* (see above n. 7), § 376 (pp. 113-119) and H. Jankuhn, *Die passive Bedeutung medialer Formen untersucht an der Sprache Homers* (Göttingen, 1969).

and Imperial periods the common spoken Greek adopted a dual division between active and passive uses very close to modern Greek and many modern European languages. The natural evolution into this model was, however, hindered by the strenuous imitation of the Classical models, whose uses continued to leave their imprint in texts written by the Greeks until the Renaissance. Thus the old 'affective' values of the ancient πάθος, which had been usurped by the personal (reflexive) pronouns in the spoken language, continued to be used alongside the new 'passive' ones represented by the passive aorist (the form upon which the passive forms of the Modern Greek are modelled). The result was, obviously, an unbalanced and artificial diathetical system that defies any coherent explanation. Thus, although three different diathetical forms coexisted in the aorist and the future, in fact they were seldom used together for a single verb by the same author.

Accordingly, it is not only the Byzantines, but already the Ancient grammarians of the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods who had difficulties in producing a coherent version of the diathetical usages they observed in the Classical texts as they understood them from the perspective of the language of their own time and not in a diachronic manner. A grammar dating from Classical times to guide them in their task was also lacking as the Greek grammar first appeared in the Hellenistic period.

How should we approach the written language of Classicist Byzantine texts when considering the diathetical uses of the verb? What models or patterns should be taken into account? It has been proved, so I hope, that in this case the *Mod.Gram/Clas.Greek* is of limited help as it was developed upon a misinterpretation of a grammatical category since the period of the Renaissance. But what then about the *Anc.Gram/Clas. Greek*? Apparently, the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* provided the Byzantine writers with a linguistic model that guided their difficult task of writing Classical or Ancient Greek. However, as we have seen, they deviated from the models and categories established for the middle voice insofar as they did not even use the middle forms put forward by the contemporary grammarians as paradigmatic examples of the category.

The future *(Mod.Gram)/Med.Greek* of David Holton and Geoffrey Horrocks will surely provide us (when published!) with tools to better understand the nature of and causes for the deviation from the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* among Byzantine writers. Yet this will again be of limited help for several reasons. To begin with, the period considered begins only ca. 1100 AD, which is too late for us, although it is an

understandable starting point considering the lack of evidence before that date. Moreover, the dialectalisation of the Greek language during the Medieval period was an additional cause for the learned Byzantines to adhere to the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*, where they could find, at least theoretically, a single pattern of use. The fragmentation of the language in the Medieval period, which was only manifested in the later phase of Byzantium with the production of vernacular literature in the Frankish states on Greek soil, prevented the learned Byzantines in Constantinople from using the spoken language as a coherent pattern that could represent an alternative to the Classical Greek. Finally, the idea of the grammaticalisation of vernacular Greek was not even conceivable for most of the learned Byzantines.

As always, the solution lies between two extremes; in our case represented by the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* and the *(Mod.Gram)/Med.Greek*. The learned Byzantines should have been aware of the rules dictated by the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* and procured to follow them as closely as possible, especially in the morphology. Yet in certain cases they realised the need to bring the syntactical and lexical patterns up to date in accordance with more contemporary standards as defined by the *(Mod.Gram)/Med.Greek*. Modern scholars are used to the most evident and obvious changes in lexicon, which were even made explicit by the Byzantine writers themselves: there are thousand of passages in the learned literature of the Byzantines in which an author apologises for using new words and even uses detours instead such as when Agathias II.30 refers to the Christian religion as ἡ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κρατοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονι δόξα. However, they are not so used to tracing changes in the syntactic patterns of words; a phenomenon that is more central to the structure of the language but unfortunately less transparent to the linguistic eye. As a matter of fact, no modern dictionary has ever tried to contrast the *syntactic uses* of even limited samples of words in Byzantine texts with the uses of these same words in the Classical period. However, Byzantine dictionaries did in fact contrast ancient and contemporary uses of words and frequently offered the common or spoken equivalences to Classical terms. More importantly, dictionaries also offered equivalences to Classical constructions. The uses they register do not necessarily appear later in the learned literature of the Byzantines, but serve as a first guide about the average knowledge of the Byzantines regarding syntactical markers. Dictionaries are thus the meeting point between the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* and the *(Mod.Gram)/Med.Greek* and the link we need to trace the

tensions between both; tensions which informed the literary task of the Byzantine learned writers.

Consider, for example, the case of ἀλείφομαι we dealt with above. The construction λιπὰ... ἠλείψαντο we noted for Thucydides is consciously recorded by the Souda under the entry 'λιπά' (Λ 574) with references to Thucydides and Aelian: Λίπα: λιπαρὸν κατὰ ἀποκοπήν. Θουκυδίδης [IV.68.5]· λίπα γὰρ ἀλείψεσθαι ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται, καὶ Αἰλιανός [fr. 157, ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig, 1866)]· ὁπόταν δὲ προσίωσι κινδυνεύσοντες, λίπα ἀλείφονται. The Souda also uses the form ἀλείφεσθαι twice in the sense of 'anoint himself' referring to a speech of Aischines.[28] In a later lexicon attributed to Nicephorus Gregoras, we again find the verb used as a direct reflexive.[29] There is thus no doubt that the direct reflexive meaning of the form was known to the Byzantines, whether it was recorded by them in ancient authors or taken form ancient scholia or dictionaries. Yet when writing, other expressions and forms were used such as the verb χρίω that the dictionaries often record as equivalent to ἀλείφω, and for instance, again the Souda (X 519), where it is mentioned that both are constructed with the accusative: χρίομαι· αἰτιατικῇ, ἀλείφομαι. Certainly, entries in dictionaries usually refer to the Classical term for which a koine or common equivalent is given, but we find the reverse order in the same Souda: (E 1943) Ἐπαλείφων· γυμνάζων. καὶ χρίων; and again in the *Additamenta* to the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. E.L. de Stefani (Leipzig, 1909-1920) p. 84, with a probable reference to *Odyssey* XIX.505: Ἀλείφω· χρίω· ἤλειψεν, ἔχρισεν.

The presence of these doublets in the Byzantine learned prose or even their use for the Byzantine metaphraseis or translations from learned to vernacular Greek demonstrate the influence that these invaluable tools of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek* had on the composition of texts in Classical Greek among learned Byzantine writers.[30] At the moment it suffices to say, by way of a conclusion, that future studies on the linguistic uses of

[28] (Ξ 61) Ξηραλοιφεῖν·Αἰσχίνης κατὰ Τιμάρχου [§ 178] ξηραλοιφεῖν ἔλεγον τὸ χωρὶς λουτρῶν ἀλείφεσθαι. (Ξ 62.) Ξηραλοιφία καὶ Ξηραλοιφεῖν·τὸ ἄνευ τοῦ λούεσθαι ἀλείφεσθαι. The same passages are recorded under the same entries in the *Lexicon* of Photius (Ξ 28 and 29), ed. C. Theodoridis, (Berlin – New York, 1982-2013).

[29] G. Hermann, *De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae* (Leipzig, 1801) § 79: ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς κατὰ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐλαίῳ ἀλείφεσθαι πρότερον.

[30] For more details on this point see J. Signes Codoñer, "Towards a vocabulary for rewriting in Byzantium", in J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung* (Turnhout, 2014), in press.

the learned prose of the Byzantines must also take into account the influence on such prose of the *Anc.Gram/Clas.Greek*.

Summary

Byzantines conceptualised the language and its parts in a completely different way than we do. The current tripartite division of the voices in the *Modern Grammar of Classical Greek* strongly misrepresented the given categories of the *Ancient Grammar*, followed by the Byzantines, for the latter never considered more than two diathetical meanings in the structure of the verb: ἐνέργεια and πάθος. Indeed, for ancient grammarians the middle voice was never a regular diathesis in itself on the same level as the active and passive voices, but rather a formal anomaly only present in specific verbal paradigms. The article will first describe the main phases in the evolution of the concept of middle voice from Antiquity to modern times. I will then attempt to shed some light on the confusion that has arisen in this process due to the ambiguous or fluctuant sense given to some categories. Finally, with the help of these previously defined categories and termini we will try to understand the criteria by which Ancient and Byzantine grammarians classified specific verbs into different diathetical categories. Some conclusions will follow mainly concerning the consequences of this analysis for an understanding of the classicist Greek of the Byzantine literature.

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L'ACCENTUATION BYZANTINE : EN QUOI ET POURQUOI ELLE DIFFÈRE DE L'ACCENTUATION « SAVANTE » ACTUELLE, PARFOIS ABSURDE

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Vendryes, *Traité* = J. Vendryes, *Traité d'accentuation grecque*, Nouvelle collection à l'usage des classes 27 (Paris, 1904).

Les origines, puis la transmission imparfaite de l'accentuation byzantine

Il n'est pas possible de comprendre ce qu'est l'accentuation byzantine ni ce qu'elle apporte à la connaissance du grec si on n'a pas devant les yeux, au moins sommairement, ce qui la précède et ce qui la suit. Ce qui la précède, c'est le processus selon lequel les Grecs, qui écrivaient primitivement leur langue sans laisser d'espace entre les mots (*scriptio continua*)[1]

[1] Ce qui rendait la lecture pénible : lire, c'était originellement ἀναγιγνώσκειν, « reconnaître ».

et sans aucun signe diacritique (accents, esprits, apostrophes, trémas[2], coronis), ont progressivement éprouvé le besoin d'insérer de tels signes; ce qui la suit, c'est la manière dont, à la Renaissance, la connaissance du grec a été transmise par des Byzantins réfugiés aux « Latins », c'est-à-dire aux érudits occidentaux[3], avides à cette époque d'apprendre le grec, de pouvoir lire non en traduction mais dans le texte original les écrits transmis en cette langue, et finalement de pouvoir les multiplier par l'imprimerie. Je commencerai donc par rappeler ces choses, aussi brièvement que possible.

Selon la tradition, c'est Aristophane de Byzance qui, à Alexandrie vers 200 av. J.-C., inventa le système des trois accents (aigu ou circonflexe pour marquer une syllabe tonique, grave pour une syllabe non tonique) et des deux esprits[4]. Ce système, qui facilitait un peu la lecture des textes et permettait surtout d'éviter certaines ambiguïtés, n'était jamais employé pour tous les mots[5]. En général, les papyrus et les plus anciens parchemins en onciales ne l'emploient pas, ou alors très épisodiquement; seuls de rares papyrus, surtout de textes poétiques et difficiles, comme ceux d'Homère, Alcman, Bacchylide, Callimaque, l'emploient avec une certaine abondance[6]. Le système fut conservé par les philologues et les grammairiens, mais finit par devoir être légèrement réformé,

[2] Ou diérèses.

[3] Des Italiens d'abord, puis rapidement des Français, des Belges, des Hollandais, des Allemands, des Espagnols, etc.

[4] Jusqu'il y a 30 ans, on ne connaissait toutefois aucun papyrus sûrement antérieur à 100 av. J.-C. qui soit muni d'accents (Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 146). Je ne connais aucune trouvaille postérieure qui infirme cela. Il faut d'ailleurs noter que, dans l'ensemble des papyri grecs, ceux qui sont antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne ne sont qu'une petite minorité.

[5] Sur ces débuts de l'accentuation, voir F. Montanari, « Aristophanes von Byzanz », dans *Der neue Pauly*, 1 (1996), col. 1130-1131; T. Dorandi, « Lesezeichen. I. Griechisch », *ibid.*, 3 (1997), col. 91-92; Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 145-146.

[6] Le livre de E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), avec ses 70 planches de manuscrits littéraires s'étageant de la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C. au VIIe s. de notre ère, est sur ce point tout à fait probant. Une liste de papyrus accentués transmettant de la prose ou des documents est donnée dans Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 161.

principalement sur l'emploi de l'accent grave[7]: à partir du IIIe/IVe s.[8], un usage se répand, qui réserve l'accent grave aux mots oxytons lorsque ceux-ci étaient suivis d'un autre mot (non enclitique) à l'intérieur de la phrase[9]. Mais pour que démarrent l'utilisation massive du système ainsi modifié et la tendance à noter finalement l'accent, et éventuellement l'esprit, de chaque mot, il faudra attendre le milieu du VIIIe s. de notre ère[10]. A partir de la fin de ce siècle en tout cas[11], cet usage s'imposa lentement[12], toujours pour faciliter la lecture. Il me paraît lié – mais comment[13]? –, à la tendance naissante à utiliser dans les livres une écriture inspirée de la cursive, qui allait devenir la minuscule (où la *scriptio continua*, sans es-

[7] Primitivement en effet, on pouvait marquer d'un accent grave toute syllabe non tonique, et il n'était pas obligatoire de marquer d'un aigu la syllabe accentuée : par ex., au lieu d'écrire δεξιαί, on pouvait aussi bien, dans cette accentuation dite « alexandrine », écrire δὲξὶαι (cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 462). Cela finit par multiplier les accents graves; de plus, ces accents, les copistes écrivant vite, furent de plus en plus déportés vers la droite, et cela engendra évidemment des erreurs : le processus est bien décrit et appuyé d'exemples dans Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 457-467; ces faits sont confirmés par Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 159-160.

[8] Cf. Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 147.

[9] Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 468-474, et dans son résumé, p. 493, situait ce changement seulement vers l'an 400 et tendait à l'attribuer à Théodose d'Alexandrie. Pour nos maigres connaissances sur ce grammairien, voir A. Gudeman, « Theodosios (6) », *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, 2. Reihe, 5 (Stuttgart, 1934), col. 1935; St. Matthaios, « Theodosios (3) », *Der neue Pauly*, 12.1 (2002), col. 340.

[10] C'est aussi à ce moment seulement que se généralisa l'usage de l'esprit doux, dont la principale utilité était jusque-là, à part les rares cas où il permettait de distinguer un mot comme ἅρμα de ἄρμα, d'indiquer que là où il se trouvait débutait un nouveau mot. Cf. Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 161-163.

[11] On estime généralement que l'eucologe *Barberinus gr. 336*, qu'on date de la fin du VIIIe s., est le plus ancien manuscrit copié dès l'origine avec une accentuation sinon généralisée du moins très abondante; toutefois, on ne peut le dater d'avant 787 (cf. St. Parenti, « La preghiera della cattedra nell'eucologio Barberini gr. 336 », *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 3a serie, 8 [2011], 149). Voir également la n. 1 de Mazzucchi, « Sul sistema », p. 165, citant un passage de la Vie de Théophane le Confesseur par Méthode relevé dès 1974 par C. Mango, passage qui atteste l'importance, chez les Studites, d'un emploi soigneux des accents et des esprits dès le dernier quart du VIIIe siècle.

[12] En deux ou trois siècles, quelques conventions se généralisèrent : par ex., les préfixes verbaux, nominaux, adjectivaux (συν-, ἐπι-, περι-, etc.), qui au début portaient souvent un accent grave, furent écrits sans accent, et l'accent fut réservé aux cas où ils étaient employés comme prépositions.

[13] Est-ce comme cause (l'emploi des signes diacritiques permet d'utiliser une écriture moins claire que les onciales, mais plus économique) ou comme conséquence (si on introduit la nouvelle écriture, il faut aussi introduire les signes diacritiques) ? La question est ouverte. Dans un article que j'ai connu seulement quand la présente étude était terminée, M. Boris Fonkič opte décidément (*Sulla datazione*, p. 39-40) pour la seconde de ces hypothèses.

prits ni accents, rend la lecture particulièrement ardue[14]). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'accentuation de tous les mots finit, au cours du Xe siècle, par être considérée comme nécessaire, tant dans les manuscrits en onciales que dans ceux en minuscules. Lorsqu'on se permit enfin de laisser un espace entre les mots[15], ce qui simplifiait notablement la lecture, les esprits et accents se maintinrent, alors qu'ils auraient pu redevenir épisodiques[16].

Passons quelques siècles, pendant lesquels l'orthographe byzantine, avec ses divers signes diacritiques, se maintient pour l'essentiel tout en évoluant lentement, et nous arrivons à la Renaissance. Dès le XIIIe s., et bien plus encore, progressivement, pendant les trois siècles suivants, dans toute la partie de l'Europe dont le latin était la langue de culture, des érudits de plus en plus nombreux sont pris d'un désir ardent de connaître le grec, pour avoir un accès direct aux textes écrits en cette langue. A partir de la fin du XIVe s., les lettrés grecs, que la peur du Turc poussait à se réfugier toujours plus nombreux en Italie, furent donc sollicités d'enseigner leur langue. Ceux qui acceptèrent le firent d'abord sur la base de manuscrits, avec un ou quelques élèves. La tâche était rude, vu la complexité intrinsèque de leur langue. Toutefois, une fois l'imprimerie inventée, l'idée mûrit d'utiliser la nouvelle invention pour multiplier d'une part les manuels permettant d'étudier la langue, et d'autre part les textes dont la lecture était si convoitée. La chose était cependant plus facile à désirer qu'à réaliser, car les émigrés grecs non seulement appartenaient à un monde fort différent de celui des imprimeurs, mais leur écriture, avec ses nombreux signes diacritiques, ses ligatures, ses abréviations, soulevait des difficultés nouvelles.

Un livre récent[17], extrêmement érudit et soigné, rend bien compte de la laborieuse transmission du grec. De manière générale, on peut dire

[14] Les manuscrits conservés, écrits en minuscules et dépourvus d'une accentuation généralisée ou presque, sont extrêmement rares. Citons les *Vaticani gr. 2200* (cf. Follieri, *Codices*, pl. XII), transcrit dans une minuscule si archaïque que Mlle Follieri n'hésitait pas à le dater du VIIIe/IXe s. (comparer le *Vaticanus gr. 2079*, reproduit à la pl. XIII, bien plus facile à lire, et pourtant non postérieur au deuxième tiers du IXe s. puisqu'il a été copié par Nicolas Studite, mort en 868), *1291*, f. 1 (scholies astronomiques qu'on date de la première moitié du IXe s.; cf. *Facsimili*, pl. 8), et *190* (textes d'Euclide, de Marinus et de Théon d'Alexandrie, qu'on situe également avant 850; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 9).

[15] Ce qui allongeait nécessairement les manuscrits et demandait donc un peu plus de parchemin, matériau cher.

[16] Voir, par exemple, le plaidoyer en ce sens de St.A. Morcelli, dans *Sancti Gregorii II Pontificis Agrigentorum libri decem Explanationis Ecclesiastae...* (Venise, 1791), p. XVII-XVIII.

[17] P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529. Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 100,2 (Philadelphie, 2010).

que jusqu'à l'extrême fin du XVe s. les grammaires imprimées se sont focalisées principalement sur les déclinaisons et conjugaisons; la syntaxe et les règles complexes de l'accentuation[18] n'y sont pas ou peu traitées. La première grammaire grecque imprimée, rédigée en latin d'après le texte grec de Manuel Chrysoloras[19] (mort pendant le Concile à Constance en 1415), sort à Venise en 1471[20], mais les mots grecs n'y sont pas accentués, et il y a beaucoup de coquilles! Cette grammaire de Chrysoloras connut ensuite plusieurs éditions partielles, nettement plus satisfaisantes[21], et le texte complet parut enfin en 1496[22]: il est loin de donner du grec une connaissance suffisamment complète et approfondie pour permettre à un Latin de se lancer dans l'édition d'un texte grec[23]. Il en va de même pour la grammaire de Constantin Lascaris[24] (né à Constantinople en 1433 ou 1434, mort à Messine en 1501), dont une première rédaction a été imprimée trois fois à partir de 1476[25], et dont le texte corrigé et

[18] Notamment celle des enclitiques, dont il va être souvent question dans ce qui suit.

[19] Sur cet ecclésiastique érudit et engagé, voir désormais L. Thorn-Wickert, *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350 – 1415)*, Bonner romanistische Arbeiten 92 (Francfort-sur-le-Main, 2006).

[20] Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 120, n° 1.

[21] Éditions bilingues (sur deux colonnes, une pour le grec et une pour la traduction latine) d'un texte à la fois abrégé et traduit par Guarino de Vérone (1374-1460), élève de Chrysoloras; elles parurent en 1475-76, 1481, 1484, 1490 et 1491 (voir Botley, *Learning*, p. 120-121, n° 2, 6, 7, 12 et 13; sur Guarino, qui était encore allé à Constantinople pour apprendre le grec, voir G. Pistilli, « Guarini, Guarino », *DBI* 60 [2003], p. 357-369).

[22] Cette fois, sans traduction latine; cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 122, n° 17.

[23] Rien n'y est dit, notamment, des phénomènes d'enclise. Parmi les verbes, φημί est totalement passé sous silence; parmi les pronoms, les formes μου, μοι, με ne sont même pas mentionnées; il en va de même pour les adverbes indéfinis που, ποτέ, ποθέν, etc.; parmi les conjonctions, Chrysoloras mentionne τε, mais ne dit rien de son accentuation. On notera par ailleurs que la grammaire est suivie d'un opuscule donnant des règles pour l'emploi des esprits (nous y reviendrons aux notes 86-91, ci-dessous), mais rien de tel pour les accents.

[24] Cf. M. Ceresa, « Lascaris, Constantino », *DBI* 63 (2004), p. 781-785; Martínez Manzano, *Láscaris*; Botley, *Learning*, p. 26-31; Manoussacas – Staïkos, *Edizioni*, p. 38-39.

[25] Cette édition de 1476 (cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 120, n° 3), préparée à Milan par Demetrius Damilas (cf. Manoussacas – Staïkos, *Edizioni*, p. 39), né en Crète d'une famille d'origine milanaise, est uniquement en grec; seule la préface de Damilas est en grec et en latin; après la grammaire ont été ajoutés le petit traité Περὶ παθῶν τῶν λέξεων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ γραμματικοῦ Τρύφωνος (traitant notamment des élisions et des crases; sur ce Tryphon, de peu antérieur à l'ère chrétienne, voir Dickey, *Scholarship*, p. 84-85), un petit écrit sur les verbes irréguliers et un autre, anonyme, sur les esprits (dans sa grammaire, à la p. 106 de ce livre non paginé, Lascaris renvoie à un écrit de Choeroboskos sur ce sujet). Le même ensemble fut réimprimé, avec une traduction latine, en 1480 et 1489 (cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 120, n° 5 et 10; voir aussi n° 11).

augmenté çà et là par l'auteur[26] fut imprimé par Alde Manuce à Venise en 1495[27]. Quant à la grammaire de Démétrius Chalcondylès (1423-1511)[28], qui parut à Milan vers 1493[29], et qui était suivie immédiatement, dans le même volume, de la grammaire assez archaïque de Manuel Moschopoulos (vers 1265 – 1316 au plus tôt)[30], laquelle avait été appréciée à Constantinople dans les années qui précédèrent la chute[31], elle n'est pas davantage à même de permettre à un étranger d'éditer un texte grec[32]. Tout cela explique pourquoi avant 1494 les éditions de textes grecs sont rares (le psautier, les textes homériques et quatre auteurs) et quasi exclusivement préparées par des Grecs, émigrés ou non[33]: en fait, le monde grec, dans son ensemble, vivait toujours à l'heure des manuscrits[34].

26 Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 30.

27 Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 121-122, n° 15. Cette édition, bilingue comme celles de 1480 et 1489, conserve les précieux ajouts de 1476. Mais la grammaire de Lascaris, tout en étant nettement plus complète que celle de Chrysoloras, à laquelle elle est apparentée, ne parle toujours pas de φημί dans la section concernant la conjugaison des verbes en –μι ; elle ne dit rien des pronoms μου, μοι, με, et ne signale pas davantage les adverbes indéfinis correspondant aux adverbes interrogatifs πόθεν, ποῦ et πῶς, qu'elle mentionne. Pour les esprits, elle renvoie, nous l'avons dit, à Choiroboskos; quant au problème des accents premiers, elle ne l'aborde pas.

28 Cf. *PLP* 12 (1994), p. 186, n° 30511.

29 Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 121, n° 14.

30 Cf. G. Fatouros, « Moschopulos, Manuel », *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 16 (Nordhausen, 1999), col. 1100-1101.

31 Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 5.

32 Ces deux grammaires, toujours centrées sur les diverses déclinaisons des noms et adjectifs et sur les difficultés de la conjugaison (accentuation comprise), ignorent elles aussi le verbe φημί (Moschopoulos ne dit même rien d'εἰμί), les pronoms personnels enclitiques, l'existence, à côté des adverbes interrogatifs ποῦ, πότε, etc., d'indéfinis homonymes.

33 Vers 1480, Demetrios Damilas, à Milan, avait imprimé Θύρσις de Théocrite ainsi que les Travaux et les Jours d'Hésiode; en 1481, il édita, sur deux colonnes, le psautier, en grec et en latin; en 1486, un certain Laonikos, prêtre de La Canée, fit imprimer à Venise la Batrachomyomachie, et un autre prêtre nommé Alexandre, de Candie, édita à nouveau le psautier; en 1488-89, Chalcondylès fit paraître l'Iliade et l'Odyssée à Florence, puis Isocrate à Milan en 1493. Seul Ésope avait été édité, à Milan vers 1478, par un helléniste latin, Bonaccorso de Pise (vers 1440 – 1481 au plus tôt; auteur du premier dictionnaire gréco-latin, paru lui aussi à Milan au début de 1478), dans une édition bilingue (gréco-latine) à l'intention de ceux qui voulaient s'initier au grec. Cf. Manoussacas – Staïkos, *Edizioni*, p. 24; Παπαδόπουλος, *Βιβλιογραφία*, p. 470-471; Botley, *Learning*, p. 76, 79-80, 83, 96, 102, 155; G. Ballistreri, « Bonaccorso da Pisa », *DBI* 11 (1969), p. 464-465.

34 C'est seulement à partir de 1520 que les Grecs entreprirent sérieusement d'imprimer leurs livres liturgiques. Avant cette date, on ne connaît qu'une impression de l'Horologe à Venise en 1509 (cf. Παπαδόπουλος, *Βιβλιογραφία*, p. 470-477).

C'est Alde Manuce (vers 1450 – 1515)[35] qui modifia la situation et stimula les études du grec comme jamais auparavant, permettant aux Latins qui le voulaient[36], d'approfondir leur connaissance de cette langue. Cet homme, vers 1490, conçut le projet de divulguer les textes des auteurs grecs et latins dans des éditions autant que possible exemptes de fautes (*emendate imprimere*)[37]. Ce n'était pas réalisable, il s'en rendit compte immédiatement, sans une connaissance vraiment approfondie de la langue. D'ailleurs, pour la correction des épreuves des textes grecs, il ne cesserait jamais de collaborer avec des érudits hellénophones, surtout crétois, et jusqu'à la fin de sa vie il perfectionnerait une grammaire grecque manuscrite qu'il avait rédigée personnellement en cette langue[38]. C'est ainsi qu'en 1495 il imprime successivement la grammaire de Constantin Lascaris, dont nous avons parlé, puis celle de Théodore Gaza[39] (vers 1400 – 1475/76). Cette dernière est manifestement plus complète que toutes les précédentes[40], et Alde la fait suivre encore du vieux et rare traité *De syntaxi* du grammairien alexandrin Apollonius Dyscole (première moitié du IIe s. de notre ère) ainsi que d'un petit écrit sur les nombres dû au fils d'Apollonius, Hérodien[41]. Enfin, en août 1496, il édite avec un réel enthousiasme[42], qu'indique d'ailleurs bien le titre choisi, *Thesaurus. Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis*[43], un recueil de 288 folios contenant une

[35] Cf. M. Infelise, « Manuzio, Aldo, il Vecchio », *DBI* 69 (2007), p. 236-245; Manoussacas – Staïkos, *Edizioni*, p. 19-25; Botley, *Learning*, p. 33.

[36] Même en matière de lecture, puisqu'il fut le premier à publier des *Abbreuiationes perpulchrae scitu quibus frequentissime Graeci utuntur* (cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 121, n° 15).

[37] Tels sont ses mots au début de la préface du *Thesaurus* dont il sera question ci-après.

[38] Elle fut éditée quelques mois après sa mort, en novembre 1515 (cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 33).

[39] Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 14-25 et p. 122, n° 16; *PLP* 2 (1977), p. 139, n° 3450.

[40] Ainsi, le troisième des quatre livres, aux dires de sa première phrase, traite περὶ προσῳδίας καὶ συλλαβῆς ποσότητός τε καὶ ὀρθογραφίας (« De l'accentuation, et de la quantité ainsi que de l'orthographe de la syllabe »). Toutefois, sur les enclitiques, l'exposé reste trop peu systématique : dans le deuxième livre, traitant des pronoms, Théodore parle notamment de la différence d'emploi entre μου, μοι, με et ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί, ἐμέ, mais il ne dit rien du pronom de la seconde personne. Parmi les adverbes, après la mention de πόθεν, est signalée l'existence de ποθέν, accentué sur la dernière syllabe à cause de son caractère indéfini, mais rien n'est dit d'une enclise possible.

[41] Aelius Hérodien, appelé d'Alexandrie à Rome sous Marc Aurèle (162-180).

[42] « In eo enim fere omnia reposita sunt, quae desiderare quis possit ad perfectam absolutamque cognitionem litterarum graecarum, et eorum praecipue quae leguntur apud poetas », écrit-il dans la préface.

[43] Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 122, n° 18.

vingtaine d'opuscules grecs inédits jusque-là; ils traitent notamment des verbes irréguliers, de lexicologie, des dialectes antiques, de l'emploi du ν éphelcystique et de l'enclise. Le volume était en chantier depuis deux ans au moins, puisque, nous dit la préface, ses premiers textes avaient bénéficié des conseils d'Ange Politien[44], mort fin septembre 1494, mais Alde est fier d'avoir ajouté, de sa propre initiative, au moins douze des textes de l'ensemble, parmi lesquels cinq opuscules sur les enclitiques. Après ce *Thesaurus*, Alde imprima encore, à la fin de 1497, son *Dictionarium graecum copiosissimum*, un dictionnaire grec-latin suivi d'une demi-douzaine de nouveaux opuscules grammaticaux et lexicaux[45], parmi lesquels un recueil sur divers mots grecs homonymes qui ont des significations différentes selon la place de l'accent[46]. La plupart des éditions aldines d'auteurs grecs ne parurent qu'après ces débuts très grammaticaux et linguistiques[47].

Il nous faut maintenant, vu la spécificité de l'accentuation byzantine concernant les enclitiques, nous arrêter un moment sur les cinq opuscules du *Thesaurus* qui les concernent. En effet, sauf erreur de ma part, ils furent, sur ce sujet spécial, les seuls écrits anciens imprimés avant le XIXe s.[48].

De ces cinq textes, le premier (fols. 223v-226) est attribué à Hérodien[49]; il comporte deux parties, une plus générale sur ce qu'est l'enclise et la ma-

[44] Sur cet humaniste, voir E. Bigi, « Ambrogini, Angelo », *DBI* 2 (1960), p. 691-702.

[45] Cf. Botley, *Learning*, p. 155-156, n° 6.

[46] Ce recueil, intitulé anonymement à l'intérieur du dictionnaire Συναγωγὴ τῶν πρὸς διάφορον σημασίαν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, porte curieusement le nom d'un certain Cyrille sur la page de titre: *Cyrilli opusculum de dictionibus quae uariato accentu mutant significatum, secundum ordinem alphabeti, cum interpretatione latina*. C'est en fait une autre mouture encore d'une œuvre dont L.W. Daly a publié naguère 5 recensions sous le titre *Iohannis Philoponi De vocabulis quae diversum significatum exhibent secundum differentiam accentus* (Philadelphie, 1983).

[47] Parurent notamment, entre 1498 et la mort d'Alde en février 1515, des œuvres d'Aristote, Aristophane, Thucydide, Sophocle, Hérodote, Euripide, Lucien, Xénophon, Jean Philopon, Grégoire de Nazianze, Homère, Démosthène, Ésope, Plutarque, Pindare, Platon, Alexandre d'Aphrodise et Athénée, ainsi que le lexique appelé « Suidas » et celui d'Hésychius (cf. Manoussacas – Staïkos, *Edizioni*, p. 56-116).

[48] Ils connurent en revanche de nombreuses rééditions, complètes ou partielles, à partir de 1512 (cf., notamment, Botley, *Learning*, p. 128, n° 40, p. 132-133, n° 55 et 58, p. 137-139, n° 78 et 85, p.160-162, n° 26, 28-30, 32-33).

[49] Il est bien difficile de savoir si les textes sur les enclitiques qui nous sont parvenus sous le nom d'Hérodien sont vraiment ce qu'il a écrit dans le livre qu'il aurait ajouté, comme une sorte d'appendice, à sa Καθολικὴ προσῳδία pour y traiter de l'accentuation des mots lorsqu'ils sont pris dans une phrase (cf. Dyck, « Herodian », p. 779), ou si par contre c'est le texte d'Hérodien abrégé, simplifié, modifié au cours du temps. En tout cas, les textes de ce grammairien que Lentz a reconstitués, avec de nombreuses hypothèses, plutôt qu'édités doivent être utilisés avec grande prudence (cf. Dyck, « Herodian », p. 775-779, notes 13, 24, 38; Dickey, *Scholarship*, p. 76-77); c'est le cas en particulier

nière dont elle fonctionne, et une autre faisant l'inventaire des divers enclitiques, par catégories de mots (noms, verbes, pronoms, adverbes, conjonctions, avec un appendice sur ἔστιν)[50]. Le second (fols. 226-229v; oublié dans les sommaires, tant grec que latin) est mis sous le nom de Jean Charax[51]; on y distingue deux parties assez parallèles à celles de l'opuscule précédent[52]. Le troisième (très court; fol. 229v) est attribué à Georges Choeroboskos[53], il ne fait qu'énumérer les principaux enclitiques encore en usage à l'époque byzantine[54]; la dernière phrase, début d'un autre développement qui a sûrement été coupé, dit qu'après un spondée, un enclitique dissyllabique garde son accent[55]. Le quatrième opuscule, anonyme (fols. 229v-232; intitulé Καὶ ἄλλως περὶ ἐγκλινομένων et oublié dans le sommaire latin), et le cinquième,

de la section Ἐκ τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ ἐγκλινομένων (Lentz, *Herodiani*, p. 551-564). – Il est peut-être bon de savoir que Laum (*Akzentuationssystem*, p. 488) ne croyait pas à l'authenticité du premier opuscule du *Thesaurus* sur les enclitiques, mais à vrai dire cette question est secondaire : le texte a eu de l'influence.

50 Bekker, en 1821, a réédité cet opuscule (*Anecdota*, p. 1142-1149) en s'aidant du *Parisinus gr. 1773*, fols. 17v-19v, copié en 1493 par Barthélemy Comparini, de Prato (sur ce personnage, voir Gamillscheg, *Repertorium*, 2A, n° 46; 3A, n° 58); le texte est amélioré, mais pas modifié substantiellement. Bekker a également remarqué (*Anecdota*, p. 1145) que l'appendice sur ἔστι existe aussi, dans une recension nettement plus brève, à la fin du 15e chapitre d'« Arcadius » (sur ce texte et ce chapitre, voir ci-dessous n. 57).

51 Grammairien qu'on date de la fin du VIe siècle au plus tôt et du VIIIe s. au plus tard; il est en effet postérieur à Jean Philopon (vers 490 – vers 570 ou 575; cf. K. Verrycken, « Johannes Philoponos », *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 18 [Stuttgart, 1998], col. 534-553; L.S.B. MacCoull, « A New Look at the Career of John Philoponus », *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 [1995], 47-60), qu'il cite, notamment dans l'opuscule qui nous occupe, et antérieur à Choeroboskos (voir n. 53), qui le cite (cf. L. Cohn, « Charax (20) », *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6. Halbband (Stuttgart, 1899), col. 2123-2124; Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, II, p. 19 et 13-14).

52 Cette œuvre de Charax a aussi été rééditée par Bekker (*Anecdota*, p. 1149-1155), qui en a retrouvé la première partie dans le *Parisinus Coislinianus 176* (XVe-XVIe s.), fol. 38rv, et probablement l'ensemble dans le *Parisinus gr. 1773* dont il a déjà été question ci-dessus à la n. 50. Le texte est assez nettement amélioré par rapport à celui d'Alde Manuce, mais évidemment c'est le texte de 1496 qui a eu de l'influence.

53 Comme l'a bien montré Chr. Theodoridis (« Der Hymnograph Klemens terminus post quem für Choiroboskos », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 73 [1980], 341-345), cet « oikoumenikos didaskalos » de Constantinople n'est pas antérieur au IXe s.; il est donc d'une époque où l'orthographe byzantine telle que nous la connaissons, avec ses esprits et ses accents, était déjà commune.

54 Il ne cite que deux enclitiques sortis de l'usage : μιν et οἱ.

55 On lit le même texte, sans guère de variantes mais anonyme, dans l'actuel *Matritensis, Bibl. Nac. 4613*, du XVe s., un ms. qui a appartenu à Lascaris (cf. Martínez Manzano, *Láscaris*, p. 36) et à partir duquel il a été édité dans les GG (Hilgard, *Scholia*, p. 466); Bekker l'avait également réédité (*Anecdota*, p. 1155-1156) sans nom d'auteur, avec de légères variantes et 4 mots de plus à la fin (qui disent qu'après un ïambe, c'est comme après un spondée) à partir d'un ms. de Paris que je n'ai pu identifier jusqu'ici.

qui se réclame de nouveau d'Aelius, c'est-à-dire d'Hérodien[56] (fols. 232-234v; oublié dans le sommaire grec), sont en fait apparentés : ce sont deux recensions différentes d'un même texte qui a été édité sous une troisième forme et sous un nom (« Arcadius ») introduit par un faussaire[57].

Ces cinq opuscules, parce qu'ils étaient et resteraient pour longtemps les seuls textes normatifs connus sur un aspect déroutant de la langue grecque, imposèrent rapidement leurs préceptes, et cela malgré la tradition orthographique qu'on constate dans les manuscrits, malgré l'usage même de grammairiens dont nous venons de parler, Lascaris, Chalcondylès, Théodore Gaza, et du *Thesaurus* lui-même[58]; en effet, les résumés que firent de nos opuscules les grammairiens postérieurs (si Nicolas Cleynaerts ou Clenardus[59] et Philippe Melanchthon[60] ne s'en em-

56 Mais Alde Manuce ne semble pas encore savoir qu'Hérodien et Aelius sont une seule personne.

57 Le texte de base est un résumé, livre par livre, de la Καθολικὴ προσῳδία d'Hérodien, résumé qu'on attribue, sans certitude, au grammairien Théodose d'Alexandrie (cf. ci-dessus, n. 9) et qui est conservé dans 5 manuscrits; les deux plus récents, du XVIe s., les *Parisini gr. 2102* et *2603*, portent un nom d'auteur (Arcadius) certainement ajouté par le copiste du premier, Ἰάκωβος Διασσωρινός, un scribe qui collabora avec Constantin Palaeocappa et, tout comme ce dernier, est connu comme faussaire (sur Διασσωρινός, voir Gamillscheg, *Repertorium*, 1A, n° 143; 2A, n° 191; 3A, n° 241). Ce texte d'« Arcadius » a été édité en 1820 par Edm. H. Barker(us) d'après les deux manuscrits parisiens cités. Sur toute cette affaire, le meilleur exposé reste celui de L. Cohn, « Arkadios (5) », *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Dritter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1895), col. 1153-1156. Mais revenons à nos opuscules : ils copient et remanient à la fois un texte qui est copié et remanié lui aussi dans le chapitre 15 d'« Arcadius » (sur les difficultés spéciales présentées par ce chapitre, voir aussi L. Cohn, *op. cit.*, col. 1156; ce qui dans ce chapitre est dit de l'enclise a de bonnes chances d'avoir été interpolé et de porter la marque de Choeroboskos : c'est en tout cas ce que pense Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 474); mais alors que le 4e opuscule est parallèle aux p. 139-147 de Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, le 5e est une autre mouture des seules p. 141-147; d'où dans les deux opuscules d'inévitables répétitions et des parallélismes évidents. Mais il est sûr que par endroits chacun des deux opuscules édités par Alde Manuce présente un texte plus fiable que celui d' « Arcadius ». Bekker a réédité la fin du quatrième (*Anecdota*, p. 1156-1157) et le début du cinquième (*ibid.*, p. 1157-1158), renvoyant pour les parties qu'il ne rééditait pas aux parallèles trouvés chez « Arcadius », lequel venait de sortir de presse.

58 Voir ci-dessous les notes 144, 160, 176, 177, 188, 195 et 204.

59 Sur Nicolaes Cleynaerts (Diest [Brabant], 1493 – Grenade, 1542) comme helléniste, voir R. Hoven, « De Europese uitstraling van Cleynaerts' Griekse spraakkunst », *De Brabantse Folklore en Geschiedenis* 278-279 (1993), 123-132. Sa grammaire fut reproduite au moins jusqu'en 1783.

60 C'est dès 1518 que parut la première édition des *Institutiones graecae grammaticae* de Melanchthon (1497-1560), rédigées à Tübingen mais imprimées à Haguenau; cette grammaire connut de multiples réimpressions. Melanchthon y signale l'existence de l'enclise lorsqu'il donne deux exemples de mots portant deux accents : Τηλέμαχός τε,

barrassèrent pas, d'autres comme Iacobus Gretscher ou Gretserus[61], qui eut un grand succès et fut réimprimé et résumé à son tour jusqu'au XIXe siècle, les lurent avec plus d'attention) furent étudiés dans les écoles, et ce sont eux qui sont à l'origine de la pratique éditoriale qui s'imposa universellement jusqu'il y a peu. Comment leur autorité a-t-elle pris le dessus sur des phénomènes qu'on constate dans tous les manuscrits byzantins ? C'est, je pense, le résultat d'un faisceau de circonstances. Il y a d'abord l'autorité qu'avaient, dans la société des XVe et XVIe s., les textes anciens, et cela chez certains Grecs eux-mêmes, qu'on voit à cette époque reprendre des usages orthographiques et linguistiques obsolètes depuis longtemps[62]. Il y a le fait qu'au début du XVIe s., pour étudier le grec, les Latins se sont pour ainsi dire émancipés, ont commencé à se passer des vieux érudits grecs : ceux qui avaient étudié avant 1453 disparaissaient d'ailleurs rapidement. Il y a encore la complexité et donc, pour les occidentaux, l'anarchie apparente des accentuations qu'on constate dans les manuscrits, aucun Byzantin n'ayant laissé une description de la pratique de l'enclise telle qu'elle était encore vivante dans la langue. Il y a enfin le fait que les philologues étaient et restent souvent obligés de corriger les fautes, ne fût-ce que d'itacisme, qu'ils trouvent dans les copies anciennes. Sur ce point, pendant longtemps ils ont pu croire que les scribes faisaient, concernant les enclitiques aussi, de nombreuses erreurs, et cela d'autant plus que jusqu'au XIXe s. et plus tard encore, ils ont souvent édité leurs textes à partir d'un seul ou de quelques témoins. Mais avec l'arrivée de la photo, les éditeurs de textes ont pu étudier simultanément beaucoup plus de témoins manuscrits, et si, auparavant, il était facile de croire qu'un scribe avait fait une faute, il est beaucoup plus difficile désormais de prétendre que 5, 10, 20 scribes font tous la même faute au même endroit. C'est ce qui, dans les dernières années, a amené plusieurs philologues à reposer la question de la légitimité des préceptes sur les enclitiques et d'autres pratiques éditoriales que nous avons héritées de nos prédécesseurs.

Ainsi donc, au moins dans le domaine des enclitiques, l'accentuation des manuscrits byzantins s'oppose moins à l'accentuation, peu attestée directement et imparfaitement connue, du grec ancien, qu'à une accen-

qu'il rapproche du latin Dóminúsque, et *σῶμά τε*, qu'il rapproche d'Octaviânúsque (cf. Melanchthon, *Institutiones*, col. 20); mais on ne trouve ni une liste de mots enclitiques ni les règles de fonctionnement de l'enclise.

61 Sur ce jésuite allemand (1562-1625), voir R. Lachenschmid, « Gretser (Gretscher), Jakob », *DHCJ*, 2, p. 1814.

62 Voir ci-dessous les notes 93, 100 et 146.

tuation imposée aveuglément aux textes par les éditeurs d'après des affirmations, parfois déformées et sûrement obsolètes[63], d'Hérodien et de ses successeurs. Nous n'avons pas peur de dire « de manière aveugle », car la plupart des hellénistes occidentaux ont lu le grec, mais ne le parlaient pas, ou mal; les accents, pour eux, faisaient seulement partie de l'orthographe et n'étaient plus du tout, comme ils l'avaient été originellement, la mise par écrit d'une prononciation vivante.

Différences entre l'accentuation byzantine et l'accentuation « érudite » habituelle

Nous allons passer maintenant aux différences les plus manifestes et les plus constantes entre l'accentuation des manuscrits médiévaux et celle des éditeurs modernes. On voudra bien nous excuser d'avoir pris nos exemples presque exclusivement dans les volumes parus depuis 30 ans dans la Série grecque du *Corpus Christianorum*. Les mêmes constatations et d'autres analogues ont été faites dans des éditions de textes préparées ailleurs qu'à Louvain, notamment à Vienne, à Berlin et en Italie, mais les étudier n'aurait pas permis de respecter les délais impartis par l'éditeur, et cela n'aurait pas modifié substantiellement – je pense – la présente étude.

Différences n'ayant aucun rapport avec la question des enclitiques

1. L'*accent grave devant un signe de ponctuation*. C'est là un point sur lequel l'orthographe byzantine diffère totalement de celle des éditions modernes et dont, paradoxalement, presque aucun éditeur ne parle.

Distinguons d'abord ponctuation forte et ponctuation faible. Devant une ponctuation faible, c'est-à-dire devant ce que, dans notre ponctuation moderne, nous exprimons par une virgule, des guillemets, une parenthèse, voire par un double point ou un point et virgule, le grec, du VIIIe/IXe au XVe siècle, n'affecte pas un mot oxyton d'un accent aigu mais bien d'un accent grave[64].

[63] En 1500, l'œuvre d'Hérodien avait déjà plus de 1300 ans et prétendait essentiellement, nous le verrons (cf. n. 147 et 179), à tort ou à raison, préserver la prononciation traditionnelle des poèmes homériques, eux-mêmes antérieurs de près d'un millénaire.

[64] Même les commentateurs d'Homère ne parlent pas d'un accent aigu dans de tels cas : cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 160.

Devant une ponctuation forte – nos points ou nos points d'interrogation –, il en va souvent de même. Les principales exceptions sont les οὔ signifiant « Non ! », les ναί (« Oui ! »), et l'ἀμήν final. En fait, la prononciation d'un mot oxyton suivi d'un enclitique ne devait pas être exactement la même que celle du même oxyton suivi d'un point : dans le premier cas, les textes anciens disent que l'accent est « réveillé » (ἐγείρεται); dans le second, qu'il est renforcé (ῥώννυται)[65]. De là vient, je pense, la résistance à la règle selon laquelle un mot oxyton, dans la suite de la phrase, change son aigu en grave, sauf devant un point ou un enclitique[66].

Les observations de détail sur les manuscrits sont rares. Grégoire de Chypre (vers 1275) termine de temps à autre sur un accent aigu un paragraphe, une citation ou l'introduction à une citation[67]. Pléthon (mort presque centenaire en 1452) annonce l'usage moderne en mettant la plupart du temps (*plerumque*) un accent aigu sur les oxytons devant le point final d'une phrase[68].

2. Les *agrégats* ou *agglomérats*, c'est-à-dire les ensembles de deux ou trois mots collés les uns aux autres et ne portant qu'un seul accent parce que chaque fois ces divers mots sont sentis comme une seule locution (de sens souvent adverbial ou prépositif), constituent une des caractéristiques les plus visibles de l'accentuation byzantine. En fait, dans les premiers siècles de l'accentuation généralisée, on a eu tendance à mettre beaucoup d'accents, et il est arrivé, nous l'avons dit, qu'on dote d'un accent grave même les préfixes des verbes, ce qui fut abandonné assez tôt. Mais même à cette haute époque il existe déjà des agrégats liant deux mots, comme διό, οἱονεί, οὐκοῦν, παραυτίκα, et bien d'autres[69]: ils sont entrés tels quels dans les lexiques et les éditions, car on ne trouve que rarement les deux éléments distingués. Mais il est indéniable que ce genre d'agrégats eut

65 Cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 473-476.

66 Χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐπιφέρηται στιγμή· ἢ ἐγκλιτικόν (4e opuscule; *Thesaurus*, fol. 230v). Il y a un autre détail sur lequel les scribes byzantins, étonnamment, font comme si les points n'existaient pas : si le dernier mot avant un point est susceptible de recevoir un ν éphelcystique, très souvent, il le reçoit ou non selon que le premier mot de la phrase qui suit le point commence par une voyelle ou par une consonne !

67 Cf. Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95.

68 Cf. Maltese, *Opuscula*, p. VIII.

69 Voir notamment la vieille étude de Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 502-508.

tendance à se multiplier tout au long de la période byzantine[70]. Un signe graphique très ancien, l'hyphen[71], jamais obligatoire, les signale parfois explicitement, voulant insister sur l'unité sémantique qu'il faut reconnaître au mot composé ou à l'agrégat.

Inversement, dans quelques mots que les éditions impriment habituellement comme des agrégats, les éléments sont séparés à l'époque byzantine. Μὴ δὲ… (au lieu de μηδὲ…) est ainsi une orthographe pratiquement généralisée jusqu'au XVe siècle[72].

3. La *place de l'accent.* Les lexiques et les traités grammaticaux ayant été relativement peu répandus dans le monde byzantin, on ne s'étonnera pas que, pour certains mots, surtout des mots rares ou des noms propres moins connus[73], les scribes n'aient pas toujours su quelle était la syllabe qui devait être accentuée. On rencontre donc de temps à autre des accen-

[70] Pour éviter une liste par trop étendue et fastidieuse des agrégats repérés dans les études dépouillées ici, je renverrai simplement aux principaux endroits où leurs auteurs en ont énuméré, parfois très longuement, et je citerai chaque fois deux exemples typiques : Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 501-502 (ἱνατί, κατιδίαν…); CCSG t. 11, p. LIV (ἐπιτοαυτό, μεταταῦτα…); t. 13, p. XLVIII (μεταβραχύ, ταμάλιστα…); t. 14, p. XLII-XLIII (ἀναμέρος, ἀναμέσον…); t. 16, p. CXI (ἀπεναντίας, τοεξεκείνου…); t. 19, p. 276 (ἀπεκείνης, διατοῦτο…); t. 25, p. XLIV-XLVI (αὔπαλιν, καθύπαρ…); t. 31, p. LXXXVI-LXXXVIII (μονονού, προβραχέος…); t. 33, p. XXXIII (καθεκάστην, παραπολύ…); t. 55, p. LXXVII-LXXVIII (ἐξανάγκης, ἐπιπλέον…); t. 56, p. XLVII (ἐξάπαντος, ἐξίσου…); t. 60, p. LIV (διαπαντός, μετολίγον…); t. 63, p. CCXXV (ἐπίσης, καταβραχύ…); Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95 (ἀπαρχῆς, διακενῆς…).

[71] On le trouve déjà dans de nombreux papyri littéraires, dont un au moins serait antérieur à notre ère; à cette haute époque, ils marquent souvent l'unité de mots composés un peu longs, comme ἀκμόθετον, κλυτοτέχνης etc. (cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 426-429).

[72] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 505; CCSG t. 31, p. LXXXV-LXXXVI (avec plusieurs références antérieures); t. 33, p. XXXIII; t. 48, p. CXXXIX; t. 63, p. CCXXV; Maltese, *Opuscula*, p. IX (*ubique* dans les œuvres de Pléthon); Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95.

[73] A propos des noms propres, il n'est peut-être pas superflu de mentionner ici que, dans les éditions savantes des textes grecs de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, certains noms bibliques ont reçu une accentuation qui n'est pas du tout conforme à la tradition; voir notamment CCSG t. 30, p. CXIV-CXVII, et de manière générale l'*index nominum* qui se trouve à la fin de presque tous les volumes du CCSG.

tuations rares, peu ou pas attestées[74]; il arrive qu'un mot ne porte aucun accent[75], ou que la place de l'accent diffère selon les divers témoins d'un même texte ou les divers endroits d'une même copie[76].

Parfois encore, aux dires des érudits, un même mot était accentué différemment selon qu'il avait telle ou telle signification, mais ces subtilités étaient souvent ignorées des copistes ou encore les rendaient hésitants[77].

Quelquefois enfin, ce sont des règles de l'accent dans les déclinaisons ou les conjugaisons qui semblent ignorées[78].

[74] Cf. CCSG t. 55, p. LXXVIII (ἄπο, hors anastrophe); t. 14, p. XLVII (διάμπαξ; pour θημονία, voir aussi CCSG t. 67, p. CXVIII); t. 51, p. XCII (διχά); t. 67, p. CXVIII (κύκλοθεν) et t. 33, p. XXXI (μήκοθεν); t. 16, p. CXII (πανάληθες); t. 56, p. 265, § VIII,3, l. 14 app., et p. 270, l. 9, app. (τροχία); t. 19, p. 122 (φιλεχθρῶς). Les accentuations διαλλάκτης (cf. CCSG t. 19, p. 122) et πολύφορος (cf. CCSG t. 26, p. 86, l. 84, et p. 87, l. 108), ignorées de Liddell-Scott et de Dimitrakos, ont été admises dans le *Lexikon* de Trapp. Quant au mot ἄμφιον (cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LII), comme me l'a signalé B. Markesinis, Liddell-Scott, en privilégiant l'accentuation ἀμφίον, semblent s'être trompés, car dans le *TLG online*, on compte 87 ἄμφιον et 90 ἄμφια contre 15 ἀμφίον et 10 ἀμφία.

[75] Cf. CCSG t. 21, p. 28, l. 39 : le mot χαμον, rare et semblant signifier une baguette souple, est laissé sans aucun accent dans le ms. Dans le *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 317*, du Xe s., au fol. 93r, l. 12-13, l'accusatif Ἀσκαλωνα n'a pas d'accent, et l'esprit est incertain.

[76] Voir cinq exemples clairs dans CCSG t. 14, p. XLVIII, n. 29 : ils concernent les mots (qu'ici nous n'accentuons pas) θορος, παραπληξ (voir également CCSG t. 56, p. 264, l. 112, p. 265, l. 12, p. 355, l. 33), παροινια, Χερμελ et ψευδηγορος. Pour αὐθημερον, voir CCSG t. 51, p. XCI, n. 72; pour ῥοα, voir CCSG t. 67, p. CXVIII.

[77] Voir, éventuellement avec l'apparat critique, CCSG t. 60, p. 5, l. 8 (ἀμητος); t. 33, p. 209, l. 29 (ἀτεχνως); t. 51, p. XCII-XCIII (pour les composés de –πετης et pour φαρμακος); pour ἀληθες, voir CCSG t. 14, p. XLVIII, n. 29; pour οὐκουν, voir ci-dessous, n. 137-138.

[78] Ainsi, des quelques impératifs aoristes que les atticistes recommandaient de prononcer oxytons (Vendryes, *Traité*, § 142, 1°), au moins ἴδε est resté le plus souvent paroxyton dans les textes byzantins (cf. par ex. CCSG t. 40, p. 57, l. 495, p. 95, l. 800, p. 99, l. 841; t. 48, p. 52, l. 1 et 27; t. 56, p. 32, l. 24, p. 80, l. 32, p. 241, l. 2 et 5, p. 273, l. 19, etc.; t. 63, p. CCXXVI; mais on lit ἰδέ dans le *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 317*, du Xe s., fol. 94r, lin. 19). La raison en est que l'accentuation ἴδε est celle de la Septante, notamment dans *Ps.* 79,15 et dans *Isaïe* 63,15, et que le chant liturgique l'a perpétuée dans le peuple (cf. *Ψαλτήριον τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως Δαυῒδ μετὰ τῶν ἐννέα ᾠδῶν* [Salonique, 2004], p. 133; J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, t. 1, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165 [Rome, 1962], p. 250, l. 6-7). Par contre, εἰπέ est accentué sur la dernière syllabe par Métrophane de Smyrne (CCSG t. 14, p. 38, l. 572). – Les formes féminines des participes parfaits actifs, lorsqu'elles se maintiennent (car il arrive qu'elles soient remplacées par les masculines), sont parfois paroxytones au lieu de périspomènes : ἐπεγνωκυίων, μεμενηκυίων, πεφυκυίων (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVIII). – Enfin, les terminaisons en -ας longues n'étant plus du tout senties comme telles, on voit apparaître des formes telles que les génitifs singuliers ἄρουρας et Σαμάρειας, ou comme l'accusatif pluriel ἅπασας (cf. *ibid.* avec la n. 29).

4. L'*esprit*. Ce que nous venons de dire pour la place de l'accent a son parallèle dans le domaine des esprits, avec la circonstance aggravante que ceux-ci n'étaient plus prononcés[79] et que les erreurs sont donc plus nombreuses. Il y a ici aussi les mots rares et certains noms propres, dont l'esprit est imparfaitement connu ou fixé[80]. Il y a des mots qui ont un sens différent selon que l'esprit est rude ou doux, mais ces subtilités sont ignorées de beaucoup d'auteurs et de scribes[81]. Certains verbes ont, selon les temps, tantôt l'esprit rude, tantôt l'esprit doux, ce qui engendre évidemment des accentuations fautives mais courantes[82]. Enfin, je relèverai ici quelques mots dont l'esprit est, dans les manuscrits, toujours ou très souvent différent de celui qu'on lit dans les dictionnaires modernes.

[79] Même parfois après un élément élidé qui devrait varier en fonction de l'esprit, puisqu'il n'est pas rare de trouver des leçons telles que κατηγεμονεύοντας, ἐφενίοις, καθιδεῖν (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVII), ἐφελπίζειν, καθ' ἐξαίρετον, οὐχ εἱς, οὐκ ὑποπτεύεις (cf. CCSG t. 56, p. XLIII-XLIV), etc.

[80] Mot rare : signalons ἕλος (CCSG t. 14, p. XLVI). Parmi les noms propres, signalons notamment qu'Ἅβραάμ a souvent et Ἡσαΐας pratiquement toujours l'esprit rude, qu'en revanche Ἀμβακούμ, Ὀνώριος, Ὠριγένης ont traditionnellement l'esprit doux en dépit des H latins ou du nom de Horus (cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXII; t. 30, p. CXIV; t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 39, p. 29-30; t. 63, p. CCXVI; t. 67, p. CXV; Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 488; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95).

[81] Ainsi, nous voyons un auteur aussi érudit qu'Athanase de Panagiou (ou son scribe, érudit lui aussi) utiliser οἷος dans le sens de « seul », ce qu'il aurait dû écrire οἶος (cf. CCSG t. 9, p. CXL). De même, Dexios écrit ὥρα dans le sens de « souci », ignorant apparemment l'orthographe ὤρα (cf. CCSG t. 55, p. 124, l. 45 et p. 153, l. 30). Pour ὧδε/ὦδε, voir ci-dessous n. 91.

[82] Notamment des futurs de ἔχω avec l'esprit doux au lieu du rude, et des parfaits de ἵστημι avec l'esprit doux (comme l'ont ἔστην et ἔστησα) au lieu du rude (cf. CCSG t. 30, p. CV; t. 56, p. XLIV).

Ce sont ἀλουργίς[83], ἀφή[84], ἀψίκορος et ἀψιμαχία[85], εἰκοστός et εἰκοσιδύο[86], ἐσμός[87], ὀπαδός[88], ὀρκίζω et ὄρκος[89], ὄρπηξ[90] et ὧδε[91].

[83] Écrit avec l'esprit doux par un grand érudit, Nicéphore Blemmyde (cf. CCSG t. 13, p. L), ainsi que dans CCSG t. 39, p. 27, l. 189-190, app. (tous les mss ont l'esprit doux); c'est encore ainsi que l'écrit le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* édité par Alde Manuce.

[84] Bien qu'évidemment apparenté à ἅπτομαι, le mot est souvent écrit avec l'esprit doux (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVI; t. 30, p. CV; t. 56, p. XLIX). Le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* l'écrit avec esprit rude, mais on peut se demander si cette orthographe est justifiée, au vu des composés (ἐπαφή, ἀνέπαφος, etc.) et de l'habitude qu'avait le grec ancien d'éviter deux aspirations successives.

[85] La parenté de ces deux mots avec ἅπτομαι semble oubliée; cf. respectivement CCSG t. 55, p. LXXVIII, et t. 39, p. 115, l. 458 (unanimité des mss). Le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* ignore le premier de ces mots, mais écrit lui aussi le second avec un esprit doux.

[86] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVI. L'esprit rude sur ces mots ne mériterait aucune attention, si nous n'avions lu dans le petit traité sur les esprits qui a été adjoint à la grammaire de Lascaris à partir de 1476 et a été repris, avec quelques adaptations et ajouts, derrière celle de Chrysoloras en 1496 : Τὰ ἀριθμητικὰ πάντα δασύνονται ... πλὴν τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐννέα καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, « les noms de nombre ont tous l'esprit rude ... sauf ὀκτὼ et ἐννέα et leurs dérivés ». Parmi les exceptions, εἴκοσι a-t-il été oublié ? En tout cas, le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* l'écrit avec esprit doux.

[87] A ma connaissance, quasi toujours écrit avec esprit doux. Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. L; t. 14, p. XLVII; t. 31, p. LXXXIX; t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 51, p. XCI; t. 55, p. LXXVIII; t. 56, p. 18, l. 177, p. 43, l. 15, p. 48, l. 52, p. 96, l. 21, p. 155, l. 61 et 71, p. 161, l. 56, p. 190, l. 47, p. 255, l. 17, p. 304, l. 50. Le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* l'écrit aussi avec esprit doux, et l'opuscule adjoint aux grammaires de Lascaris et de Chrysoloras (voir n. 86) ne prévoit pas d'esprit rude quand ε est suivi de σμ.

[88] C'est l'esprit doux qui est indiqué par l'opuscule cité à la note précédente et par le *Dictionarium copiosissimum*. Néanmoins, nous avons rencontré l'esprit rude (au nom d'une étymologie le rapprochant d'ἕπομαι ?) dans CCSG t. 13, p. L; t. 14, p. XLVII; t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 56, p. XLIX.

[89] L'esprit doux sur ces deux mots est fréquent : cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVII (où on lit aussi κατορκίζω); t. 19, p. 276 (avec n. 55); t. 26, p. 198, l. 475 (app.); t. 51, p. XCI ; t. 56, p. L. Cette graphie contrevient au petit traité cité à la n. 86. Quant au *Dictionarium copiosissimum*, il écrit ὁρκίζω, ὅρκιον, mais ὄρκος (coquille significative ?).

[90] Cf. CCSG t. 56, p. L. Esprit doux également dans le *Dictionarium copiosissimum*, tandis que l'opuscule cité à la n. 86 ne prévoit aucun mot commençant par ὁρπ-. Un Λεξικὸν περὶ πνευμάτων ἐκλεγὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ πνευμάτων Τρύφωνος, Χοιροβοσκοῦ, Θεοδωρίτου καὶ ἑτέρων, καὶ ἀντιγράφοις διαφόροις ἀντιβληθὲν καὶ ὀρθωθέν, publié en 1822, est éclairant. Il donne d'abord Ὄρπηξ, ὁ κλάδος, puis écrit un peu plus loin : τὸ δὲ Ὄρπηξ ἐν πολλοῖς ψιλούμενον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὀρούειν εἰς ὕψος ψιλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἕρπειν δασύνουσι τινές (Valckenaer, *Ammonius*, p. 209).

[91] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. L; t. 30, p. CV-CVI; t. 39, p. 29, l. 225, p. 45, l. 432; t. 56, p. L; t. 60, p. 22, l. 514 et 515, p. 72, l. 1729, p. 94, l. 2296. C'est le Λεξικόν cité à la note précédente qui nous a fourni l'explication, disant tour à tour Ὧδε καὶ ὡδὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα, puis Ὧδε ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοιοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· καὶ Ὡδὶ, τὸ αὐτό (Valckenaer, *Ammonius*, p. 210-211). Nous avons un écho de la même doctrine dans l'opuscule cité ci-dessus à la n. 86, mais seulement dans sa version améliorée de 1496 : Τὸ ω μέγα ψιλοῦται αἰεὶ, πλὴν τῶν παρὰ

Ajoutons en passant que l'esprit rude sur le ρ initial n'est pas toujours présent dans les manuscrits byzantins; quant aux deux esprits, le premier doux et le second rude, sur la géminée ρρ, ils sont toujours restés relativement exceptionnels[92]. Ce dernier usage semble avoir repris vigueur à la fin du XVe siècle[93].

5. La *nature de l'accent*. Les voyelles longues étant devenues brèves avec le temps, et l'accent circonflexe ne correspondant plus à une prononciation différente de l'accent aigu, c'était seulement de mémoire et grâce à quelques traités rares et compliqués que les auteurs et les scribes byzantins pouvaient savoir, pour les α, les ι et les υ des radicaux, quels étaient ceux qui jadis avaient été longs par nature (et étaient dès lors susceptibles de porter un accent circonflexe), et ceux qui ne l'avaient pas été. L'abrègement s'étant généralisé, on ne s'étonnera pas de constater que, dans de

τοῦ ὥρα, ὧδε ἀντὶ οὕτως, ὡρακιῶ. Quant au *Dictionarium copiosissimum*, il donne simplement : ὧδε, hic, huc, sic, et ne fait donc aucune distinction. Celui qui consultera les références du début de cette note verra que la plupart des ὧδε cités ont de fait un sens local, mais que certains scribes ont généralisé l'esprit doux; les références au t. 60 montrent en outre qu'un copiste hésite, et qu'Allatius (1586-1669; sur ce Grec né à Chio, mais arrivé à Rome à l'âge de 13 ans et tout à fait italianisé, voir D. Musti, « Allacci, Leone », *DBI* 2 [1960], p. 467-471), en 1655, généralise l'esprit rude. Nous sommes donc ici devant un nouveau cas de ces mots qui auraient, du moins pour certains grammairiens, un sens différent suivant leur esprit, ce qui était trop subtil pour beaucoup d'auteurs et de copistes.

92 Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 488-489.

93 Les esprits sur le double ρ ne se lisent ni dans l'abrégé de Chrysoloras par Guarino de Vérone édité cinq fois entre 1475-76 et 1491, ni dans les grammaires de Chalcondylès, de Moschopoulos et de Théodore Gaza. Par contre, ils sont imprimés dès 1476 dans les éditions de la grammaire de Constantin Lascaris (qui, parlant du double rhô, s'autorise clairement des Anciens, et cela dans une langue tout à fait archaïque : δυοῖν δὲ ὄντοιν ὅπου ἂν τύχωσι τὸ πρῶτον ψιλοῦται καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δασύνεται κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς [p. 106-107 du livre non paginé]) et en 1496 dans l'édition du texte intégral de Chrysoloras. Lascaris, imprimé par Alde Manuce en 1495, fut suivi par bien des grammairiens, notamment Melanchthon (cf. *Institutiones*, col. 27), et par beaucoup d'éditeurs ! Voir d'autres « retours aux Anciens » ci-dessous, n. 100 et 146.

nombreux cas, l'accent circonflexe a disparu au profit de l'accent aigu[94]; il y a toutefois aussi quelques cas d'évolution inverse[95].

Beaucoup ignoraient que certains α finals avaient été brefs[96]; les différences existant théoriquement entre ἄρα et ἆρα, entre ἤ et ἦ, entre ὤ et ὦ étaient largement ignorées[97].

6. L'*apostrophe.* L'usage de l'apostrophe pour marquer l'élision est, pourrait-on dire, une diastole spécialisée[98]. Dans la majorité des manuscrits

[94] Je ne relève ici que quelques orthographes vraiment récurrentes, qui s'opposent aux dictionnaires habituels : θλίψις (cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XC, avec références à cinq tomes antérieurs; t. 39, p. 79, l. 56; t. 56, p. XLII; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95; même accent dans le *Dictionarium copiosissimum*); χρίσις, χρίσμα, et les formes verbales χρίσαι et χρίσαν (cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LII; t. 14, p. XLIX-L; t. 30, p. CVIII; t. 55, p. 77, l. 100, p. 212, l. 14; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 95; le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* écrit χρίσις, mais χρῖσμα); les formes aoristes κωλύσον, κωλύσαι, κωλύσαν (cf. CCSG t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 55, p. 191, l. 69; t. 56, p. XLIII), ainsi que λύσον, λύσαι, λύσαν (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. L; t. 30, p. CVII; t. 56, p. XLIII; t. 60, p. 11, l. 209, p. 32, l. 757-758, 761 et 766, p. 35, l. 859); les mêmes formes des verbes en -ύνω : ἀγαθύναι, ἐπαμύναι, ἱλαρύναι, λεπτύναι, μεγαλύναι, φαιδρύναν (cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LII; t. 14, p. L; t. 30, p. CVII; t. 55, p. 83, l. 24; t. 56, p. XLIII); les génitifs singuliers et autres cas analogues ἀκτίνος, βαλβίδος, κηλίδος, κρηπίδος et σφραγίδος (cf. CCSG t. 10, p. 4, qu. 4, l. 7, p. 54, qu. 70, l. 6, p. 105, qu. 148, l. 3; t. 14, p. XLIX; t. 16, p. CXIV; t. 26, p. 170; t. 30, p. CVII; t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 56, p. XLII; t. 60, p. 25, l. 587 et 588; t. 67, p. CXVI-CXVII; les quatre dernières de ces accentuations sont également celles du *Dictionarium copiosissimum*); mentionnons enfin une série de noms dissyllabiques en –ος qui sont écrits non propérispomènes mais paroxytons : βρίθος, γρίφος, κύδος, κύρος, μίσος, μύθος, νίκος, πίλος, στύλος, τύφος, ψύχος (cf. CCSG t. 9, p. 79, l. 28; t. 13, p. LII; t. 14, p. XLIX; t. 23, p. CLXXI; t. 26, p. 86, l. 89; t. 30, p. CVII-CVIII; t. 31, p. XC; t. 55, p. 79, l. 147, p. 240, l. 26; t. 56, p. XLII; t. 67, p. CXVI; t. 74, p. XCIII; Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. IX; de ces orthographes, le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* reprend βρίθος, κύδος, κύρος, στύλος et ψύχος).

[95] Ainsi, on trouve fréquemment des infinitifs finissant en -ᾶναι au lieu de -άναι : ἐφεστᾶναι et ὑφεστᾶναι (cf. Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. IX; id., *Opuscula*, p. IX), τεθνᾶναι (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. L), φᾶναι (cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXIV; t. 55, p. LXXVIII; l'ajout à la grammaire de Lascaris de 1495 concernant les verbes irréguliers), ainsi que les datifs ἀνδρᾶσι, μητρᾶσι, πατρᾶσι (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. L).

[96] D'où les orthographes μοίρα (cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XC), πείρα (cf. CCSG t. 56, p. XLVIII), πλατεία (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. L), σπείρα et σφύρα (cf. CCSG t. 33, p. XXXII). Le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* écrit aussi σφύρα.

[97] Voir à titre d'exemples, pour ἄρα, CCSG t. 60, l'apparat des p. 11, 16, 17, 19, 31, 39, 53 et 54; pour ἤ, CCSG t. 13, p. 10, l. 16 (chez Nicéphore Blemmyde !); pour ὤ, CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXVI (dans un ms. impérial !).

[98] La diastole, qui dans les papyrus anciens, se présente exactement comme l'apostrophe actuelle, avertissait le lecteur d'un texte écrit en *scriptio continua*, qu'à cet endroit un mot se terminait et un autre commençait; à une époque relativement ancienne, on introduisit une distinction : on laissa habituellement la diastole en haut de la ligne dans les cas d'élision, tandis que des diastoles comme celles qu'on voit encore parfois dans les

byzantins[99], son usage est le même que dans les éditions modernes, excepté sur un point : à Byzance, le mot οὐχ était considéré très majoritairement comme l'abréviation de οὐχί[100], et donc très souvent suivi d'une apostrophe[101]; après la forme οὐκ, la présence de l'apostrophe n'est pas rare mais est beaucoup moins généralisée[102].

7. La *coronis*. Signe graphique de la crase, la coronis semble être un concept relativement récent[103], en tout cas diffusé tardivement. Il est clair en effet que de nombreux scribes ont traité les crases en les marquant de deux signes semblables : le premier était clairement une apostrophe, et le second, un esprit doux[104]. A date ancienne surtout, la crase n'est souvent signalée par aucun signe[105], ou encore le signe, dont on peut se demander si le copiste y voyait une apostrophe ou une coronis,

manuscrits byzantins (ὅ,τε ou τό,τε, pour qu'on ne lise pas ὅτε ni τότε), passèrent en bas de la ligne (cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 413-417).

[99] Dans les manuscrits du IXe et du Xe s., guère plus tard, on voit encore des « apostrophes » à la fin des mots qui se terminent par une consonne autre que ν, ρ ou ς (par ex., des noms bibliques comme Zorobabel, Melchisédek, Jacob); ce sont des diastoles qui se sont maintenues en haut de la ligne (cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 495-496).

[100] La chose est très claire chez l'auteur chrétien du *De Prosodiis* (Uhlig, *Dionysii Thracis*, p. 112-113), mais les avis étaient partagés sur le sujet (voir *ibid.*, apparat). Telle n'était pas, notamment, l'opinion d'Apollonius Dyscole, ni d'Hérodien, lesquels considéraient le χ et le κ comme de simples suppléments à οὐ, destinés à éviter l'hiatus (cf. Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, p. 416). Sur ce point également, l'opinion de ces grammairiens anciens reprit force de loi à la Renaissance.

[101] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 496-498 et 515-516; CCSG t. 26, p. 170 (avec références aux tomes antérieurs); t. 33, p. XXXII; t. 48, p. CXLI; t. 60, p. LIII; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 94. – Pour l'usage opposé, dans un ms. impérial du Xe s., voir CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXVII.

[102] Cette forme fait de toute façon difficulté : on ne peut pas parler d'une véritable élision. Sommes-nous en présence d'une désaspiration du χ de οὐχ, ou est-ce un supplément euphonique ? L'hésitation apparaît du début à la fin de l'époque byzantine (cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », *loc. cit.*; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 94).

[103] La plus ancienne occurrence de κορωνίς dans ce sens paraît se trouver dans le Περὶ προσῳδίας transmis sous le nom d'un certain Porphyre, inconnu par ailleurs mais tardif (cf. Hilgard, *Scholia*, p. XXI-XXII), texte édité ibid., p. 128-150; pour κορωνίς, voir p.147, l. 14-15.

[104] Voir plusieurs exemples dans CCSG t. 14, p. LV; t. 16, p. CXII (au XIVe s. encore, par Jean Cantacuzène !); t. 51, p. XCIV; t. 69, p. CLXXXIII. Le mot « élidé » y est souvent l'article (τὰ ou τοῦ ou τὸ), mais on trouve aussi κ'ἂν (cf. CCSG t. 25, p. XLV) et κ'ἀξ (cf. CCSG t. 14, p. LV).

[105] Spécialement pour des crases simples et courantes : κακεῖθεν, καμοί, καμέ (cf. CCSG t. 26, p. 170), mais aussi pour τουμόν, τουναντίον et καναλογῆσαι (cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXVI, à propos du ms. impérial *Vatopedinus 408*, du Xe s.).

semble facultatif[106]. Au XIVe s. encore, lorsque le résultat de la crase est un peu différent de ses composés, et qu'il semble incongru de noter tant une apostrophe qu'un esprit, la crase n'est parfois marquée par aucun signe distinctif[107]. En tout cas, le mot *ταυτό/ταυτόν*, « la même chose », est particulièrement souvent écrit sans coronis[108], et ses composés ne l'ont reçue qu'à l'époque de l'imprimerie[109].

8. Le *tréma*. Le double point sur un Ι ou sur un Υ est un des plus anciens signes diacritiques du grec, puisqu'on le rencontre dès le IIe siècle avant notre ère. Il indique au lecteur d'un texte en *scriptio continua* qu'il doit séparer l'une de l'autre deux voyelles qui se suivent (d'où le nom διαίρεσις), ou encore que la voyelle marquée du tréma est le début, plus rarement la fin, d'un mot[110]. Au début de l'accentuation généralisée, dans les manuscrits en onciales et les plus anciens en minuscules, le tréma sur le ι initial est fréquent et il dispensait souvent d'indiquer l'esprit[111]. Plus tard, dans l'écriture minuscule, le tréma se multiplie : on le voit sur tous les ι et les *υ* qui ne font pas partie d'une diphtongue[112]. Quand on commença à imprimer le grec, le signe fut à nouveau réservé aux ι et aux *υ* qui suivent une voyelle sans former diphtongue avec elle.

9. Le *double accent*. Il y a longtemps qu'on a remarqué que, dans certains manuscrits, certains petits mots, d'une ou deux syllabes, portent parfois un double accent grave pour en souligner une valeur spéciale dans le contexte[113]. Cet usage, qui apparaît çà et là tout au long de la période byzantine, n'a, à ma connaissance, été repris dans aucune édition de texte. Son extension, sa signification, ses avantages et ses inconvénients ont

[106] Voir plusieurs cas de variations à l'intérieur d'un même manuscrit dans CCSG t. 25, p. XLV; t. 31, p. LXXXIX; t. 51, p. XCIV; t. 63, p. CCXXVII.

[107] J'interprète ainsi le θάτερον et le προύκειτο de Cantacuzène (cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXII).

[108] Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXII; t. 23, p. CLXX; t. 51, p. XCIV; t. 55, p. LXXX; t. 56, p. XLVII; t. 69, p. CLXXXIII; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 94.

[109] Ainsi *ταυτοβουλία, ταυτοεπεῖν, ταυτοποιούμενος, ταυτότης*... (cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXII; t. 23, p. CLXX; t. 48, p. CXXXIX; t. 60, p. LIII; t. 63, p. CCXXVII; t. 69, p. CLXXXIII; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 94). Et en 1497, le *Dictionarium copiosissimum* écrit encore *ταυτόματος, ταυτομολέω* et *ταυτότης* sans crase.

[110] Cf. T. Dorandi, « Lesezeichen. I. Griechisch », *Der neue Pauly*, 7 (1999), col. 91.

[111] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 490-492.

[112] Cf. Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 93.

[113] Voir notamment Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 482-484; Noret – De Vocht, « Une orthographe », p. 497-499, 502 et 505; Noret, « Notes », p. 80-81.

par contre été récemment étudiés et exposés en détail par K. Oikonomakos[114], lequel a pu dresser la liste suivante des mots repérés jusqu'ici avec ce double accent : ἄν, γάρ, δέ, ἐγώ, ἐμέ, ἐπεί, καί, κἄν, λοιπόν, μέν, μετά, μή, μηδέν, μήν, ναί, οὐδέν, οὐχί, σύ, τό, ὑπό.

Différences concernant l'enclise

Nous allons donner ci-après les principales caractéristiques des enclitiques et de leur traitement à l'époque byzantine; sur plusieurs points, on constate des différences à la fois avec ce que recommandaient les Anciens et avec la pratique générale des éditeurs modernes.

1. *L'évolution de la langue depuis l'Antiquité a réduit notablement le nombre des enclitiques, mais on en voit poindre de nouveaux.*

Le nombre des enclitiques varie dès les diverses listes remontant à des grammairiens anciens : certaines sont moins étoffées que d'autres[115]. Dans la prose chrétienne et byzantine, la disparition quasi totale des anciens dialectes, du duel[116], des pronoms enclitiques οὑ, οἱ, ἑ ou commençant par σφ-, ainsi que de nombreuses particules de la langue homérique, a réduit notablement la liste des enclitiques dont nous devrons traiter ici.

Un des enclitiques anciens, la particule νύν, mentionnée par le premier opuscule du *Thesaurus*[117], ne se maintient guère que dans τοίνυν.

Par contre, αὐτοῦ et αὐτῆς, quand ils suivent immédiatement le substantif dont ils dépendent, n'étaient pas enclitiques dans l'Antiquité, mais sont signalés comme tels dans le *Monacensis gr. 454* (Xe s.)[118]; c'est un cas rare assurément, voire unique, et il y a quelque chance qu'il s'agisse

[114] « Ἀγαθὸν τὸ διτονεῖν ? », *Byzantion* 75 (2005), 295-309 (article rédigé en français, malgré son titre).

[115] La chose est particulièrement notable en ce qui concerne les pronoms et les particules. Ainsi, le premier opuscule du *Thesaurus* énumère une bonne vingtaine de formes pronominales et onze particules qui sont enclitiques chez Homère, tandis que le troisième opuscule, attribué à Choiroboskos, ne parle que de cinq formes pronominales et de quatre particules.

[116] Hérodien, auteur ou source du premier opuscule, ne parle de formes dialectales enclitiques qu'à propos de τις et des pronoms personnels; il mentionne des duels enclitiques à propos de ces mêmes pronoms et pour le présent de εἰμί; en parlant de ce présent, il cite également deux formes enclitiques de la 2e personne du singulier qui n'existent plus dans la prose byzantine.

[117] Dans le *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, au fol. 225v.

[118] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 523.

là d'un phénomène isolé de la langue écrite essayant de rendre la langue parlée où aurait existé déjà l'usage du grec moderne[119].

2. *Un mot catalogué comme enclitique ne l'est pas toujours et nécessairement; il est seulement susceptible de l'être.*

Nous allons passer en revue un à un les enclitiques restés vraiment vivants à l'époque byzantine et essayer de déterminer pour chacun dans quels cas, dans les manuscrits du IXe au XVe s., il est véritablement enclitique et dans quels cas il ne l'est pas. Nous ne suivrons aucun ordre traditionnel, allant simplement des cas les plus clairs aux plus compliqués.

Πέρ est, semble-t-il, toujours enclitique, excepté dans les agrégats ὡσπερανεί, ὡσπερεί[120] et ὡσπεροῦν[121]; encore faut-il reconnaître que dans ces trois mots accentués sur la dernière syllabe, le composant ὥσ- porte un accent secondaire correspondant à l'enclise « interne » de περ.

Γέ peut aussi être considéré comme toujours enclitique[122], excepté dans les agrégats γεμήν[123] et γοῦν[124]; quant aux expressions μήτιγε[125], καίτοιγε[126] et ἤπουγε[127], qu'il faille ou non les considérer comme des agrégats, elles semblent obéir à une règle de la synenclise dont nous parlerons plus bas[128].

119 Dans le 5e opuscule du *Thesaurus*, au fol. 233r, nous lisons Τῶν δὲ καλουμένων μονοπροσώπων, μόνη ἡ αἰτιατικὴ αὐτὸν ἐγκλίνεται, avec pour exemple κόψε γάρ αὐτον ἔχοντα (*Iliade*, 12, 204); dans « Arcadius », le passage est clairement présent mais corrompu (Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 143); le passage a été arrangé par Lentz (*Herodiani*, p. 558-559), qui en a retrouvé le sens. Mais l'important, c'est que cela semble bien annoncer le pronom enclitique τον du grec postérieur.

120 Cf. par ex. CCSG t. 55, p. 136, l. 131; t. 63, p. CCXXV.

121 Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. 95, l. 391-392.

122 Notons quand même que Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 524-525, a trouvé 7 cas de γὲ (portant l'accent grave).

123 Sur cet agrégat, voir CCSG t. 14, p. XLIII, avec la n. 12.

124 Dans un ms. impérial du Xe s., on trouve encore souvent, mais pas toujours, γ'ουν avec un γ' enclitique (cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXV-CCXXVI).

125 Cf. CCSG t. 19, p.461; t. 25, p. XLV-XLVI; t. 30, p. CV; t. 31, p. LXXXVII; t. 33, p. XXXIII; t. 51, p. XCIII; Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 525. Orthographiée μήτοιγε dans CCSG t. 19, p. 154, l. 43, et p. 181, l. 109.

126 Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 525.

127 Cf. CCSG t. 33, p. XXXIII.

128 Voir ci-dessous, p. 139.

Les accentuations ἔγωγε et ἔμοιγε[129] restent normales à l'époque byzantine.

Quant à la particule τοί, qui survit dans καίτοι et μέντοι, ainsi que, non enclitique, dans τοιγαροῦν, τοιγάρτοι[130] et τοίνυν, on la trouve encore, hors de tout agrégat et enclitique, mais elle n'est plus très vivante : chez les auteurs qui l'utilisent, elle suit souvent les mêmes mots : ἀμέλει[131], διά[132], ἔνθεν[133], οὕτω[134], πάνυ[135], et surtout ταύτῃ[136].

Le premier et le deuxième opuscule du *Thesaurus* font tous deux remarquer que le mot οὖν est enclitique en un cas : après la négation οὐ quand l'ensemble a la valeur d'une négation; on l'orthographie alors οὔκουν. Le même agrégat est périspomène quand il marque au contraire une affirmation, dans un raisonnement[137]. Dans les manuscrits byzantins, certains scribes ont bien maintenu cette distinction, mais il n'est pas rare que les deux mots soient confondus, et c'est alors l'accentuation οὐκοῦν qui prévaut[138].

Γάρ est signalé comme enclitique par le 3e des opuscules du *Thesaurus* de 1496 (fol. 229v), transmis sous le nom de Choeroboskos. Nous ne l'avons constaté tel que dans l'agrégat τοίγαρ utilisé par Métrophane de

[129] Cf. Vendryes, *Traité*, § 335.

[130] Orthographié τοίγαρ τοι par Métrophane de Smyrne (voir ci-dessous, n. 139)

[131] Cf. CCSG t. 10, p. 120, l. 9; t. 55, p. 192, l. 18, p. 263, l. 21.

[132] Διά τοι τοῦτο : cf. CCSG t. 13, p. 25, § 45, l. 9; t. 16, p. 3, l. 11, p. 8, l. 57-58, p. 43, l. 13, p. 64, l. 30, p. 71, l. 8, p. 75, l. 37; t. 55, p. 122, l. 1. Διά τοι ταῦτα : CCSG t. 13, p. 22, § 40, l. 13.

[133] Voir les références ci-dessous, n. 214. On ajoutera CCSG t. 16, p. 5, l. 23, où l'accentuation a probablement été corrigée par l'éditeur (cf. p. CXIII).

[134] Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. 25, l. 26; t. 55, p. 157, l. 36, p. 247, l. 39.

[135] Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. 24, l. 3, p. 60, l. 33, p. 137, l. 99, p. 180, l. 51.

[136] Cf. CCSG t. 9, p. 11, § 19, l. 10, p. 29, l. 16; t. 12, p. 55, l. 5; t. 16, p. 8, l. 29, p. 27, l. 11, p. 61, l. 15; t. 19, p. 146, l. 63; t. 33, p. 28, l. 17-18, p. 30, l. 64, p. 50, l. 56, p. 104, l. 16, p. 138, l. 60, p. 243, l. 24; t. 55, p. 10, l. 39, p. 53, l. 3, p. 55, l. 53, p. 101, l. 21, p. 138, l. 17, p. 189, l. 20-21, p. 193, l. 17, p. 284, l. 43. Métrophane de Smyrne emploie 52 fois l'expression dans sa *Dissertatio contra Iudaeos* et 4 fois dans son *Commentaire sur l'Ecclésiaste* : on pourra s'en rendre compte en consultant le *TLG online* respectivement sous *Scripta anonyma adversus Iudaeos* et sous *Gregorius scriptor ecclesiasticus*.

[137] Dans le *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, respectivement aux fols. 233v et 229r. La distinction entre οὐκοῦν, *igitur*, et οὔκουν, *non, nequaquam*, se retrouve dans la Συναγωγή du Pseudo-Cyrille (voir ci-dessus, n. 46)

[138] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVIII, avec la n. 27; t. 33, p. 35, l. 62 (app.).

Smyrne, presque toujours en début de phrase et presque toujours aussi suivi de τοι ou de οὖν[139].

Μέν est également cité comme enclitique dans le 3e des opuscules du *Thesaurus* (*ibid.*), qui donne l'exemple ἐγώ μεν; nous n'avons pas rencontré (ou remarqué) d'exemple d'une telle enclise.

Δέ, cité lui aussi (*ibid.*) par le 3e opuscule du *Thesaurus* parmi les conjonctions enclitiques, se rencontre de temps à autre comme tel dans les manuscrits, on l'a remarqué depuis longtemps[140]. Chez Nicéphore Blemmyde, un tel usage n'est pas rare[141]. Mais on le trouve aussi ailleurs, sporadiquement, notamment après ἐγώ, σύ, αὐτός, αὐτοί[142], qui sont ainsi mis en valeur. Nettement plus fréquente est l'enclise de la forme élidée (δ᾽) lorsqu'elle suit une forme de ὁ, ἡ, τό ayant valeur de pronom[143].

Φημί, φησί(ν), φαμέν, φατέ et φασί(ν) sont probablement les mots pour lesquels l'usage byzantin s'écarte le plus de la règle, d'ailleurs hésitante[144], des Anciens. Ces formes du présent de φημί sont, dans les textes de l'époque chrétienne écrits en minuscules, bien plus souvent orthotoniques qu'encli-

[139] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. XLVIII et LI, p. 24, l. 76, p. 87, l. 98, p. 106, l. 774, p. 141, l. 12. Dans CCSG t. 56, le même τοίγαρ revient 5 fois, mais est toujours suivi de οὖν (p. 17, l. 170; p. 64, l. 1; p. 201, l. 20-21; p. 216, l. 1; p. 224, l. 13). On notera que chez cet auteur l'accentuation est τοίγαρ τοι et non τοιγάρτοι.

[140] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 523. De plus, δέ a toujours été enclitique dans ὅδε, τοιόσδε et τοσόσδε (cf. Vendryes, *Traité*, § 99).

[141] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. L-LI; Noret – De Vocht, « Une orthographe ». Voir aussi l'article de K. Bočková Loudová dans le présent volume.

[142] Cf. Reil, *loc. cit.*; CCSG t. 14, p. LIV; t. 55, p. LXXIX; t. 74, p. LXXXIX (dans des vers, chez Christophe de Mytilène); T. Fernández, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum : A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction* (Thèse de doctorat de la Faculté des Lettres, KULeuven, 2010), p. CXCV.

[143] Cf. Noret – De Vocht, « Une orthographe », p. 497 et 499; CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII; t. 55, p. LXXIX; t. 74, p. LXXXIX-XCI (chez Christophe de Mytilène); Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII, et *Opuscula*, p. IX. Dans ces cas, il y a en fait coïncidence avec l'accentuation de ὅδε élidé.

[144] Parmi les 5 textes du *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, celui de Jean Charax dit que « les formes duelles et plurielles de φημί sont enclitiques selon l'usage des Anciens, bien que certains pensent le contraire » (fol. 227v) et on y constate deux φαμέν et un φασί non enclitiques (ὀρθοτονεῖσθαι δὲ φαμὲν, ὅτε... au fol. 226r; πρὸς οὓς φαμὲν ὅτι ainsi que φασὶ δὲ... en début de phrase au fol. 228r). De même, le quatrième opuscule (fol. 231r) et le cinquième (fol. 232v) disent tous deux qu'« il arrive que (ἔσθ᾽ὅτε) les formes plurielles soient enclitiques » (formule qui se retrouve évidemment telle quelle dans Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 142); Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, est également arrivé à un certain scepticisme quand il a étudié les papyri et les scholies d'Homère (voir p. 239 pour les formes plurielles, p. 244 et 317 pour la forme φημί, p. 317 pour φησί, p. 318-319 pour φημί et φαμέν) : l'enclise n'est jamais assurée. La prudence des anciens traités n'a pas été reprise dans les grammaires modernes.

tiques[145]. Je ne me souviens pas avoir rencontré un texte byzantin manuscrit dans lequel les cinq formes citées ci-dessus soient toujours enclitiques. Cela dit, il est moins facile de déterminer quand elles sont restées enclitiques pendant la période byzantine. Les études citées et les occurrences de φημί qu'elles permettent de trouver montreront à qui aura la patience de les analyser que l'enclise est particulièrement fréquente après les monosyllabes, notamment γάρ ou les diverses formes du pronom relatif, ainsi qu'après καθά ou καθώς. Il semble qu'il y ait eu des habitudes langagières, des expressions stéréotypées qui liaient φημί au mot qui le précédait, mais que par ailleurs il était toujours loisible de le lier plutôt au mot qui le suivait.

D'après les listes anciennes, les adverbes indéfinis correspondant à des adverbes interrogatifs homonymes d'une ou de deux syllabes, sont également enclitiques. Ce sont που, ποθί (sorti de l'usage dans la prose byzantine), ποτέ, ποθέν, πη (ou πῃ[146]), πως et πω. On ajoutera ποι[147].

[145] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. LIII; t. 16, p. CXIII; t. 19, p. 124-125; t. 23, p. CLXXII; t. 26, p. 171; t. 30, p. CXI-CXII; t. 39, notamment p. 105, l. 339, et p. 133, l. 655; t. 40, notamment p. 110, app. l. 940; t. 48, p. CXL; t. 55, p. LXXIX-LXXX; t. 56, p. XLVI, ainsi que par ex., p. 55, l. 35, p. 65, l. 28 (app.), p. 134, l. 50-51, p. 272, l. 49, p. 293, l. 26, p. 311, l. 28 et p. 346, l. 63; t. 60, p. 6, l. 87 et app., p. 13, l. 262, et p. 53, l. 1288 (où l'on constate qu'Allatius [voir ci-dessus, n. 91], en 1655, rétablit l'enclise que les manuscrits ne connaissent pas); t. 63, p. CCXXIII-CCXXIV; t. 67, p. CXXI; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 96; Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII; Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 520-521.

[146] Les iotas actuellement souscrits n'ont été récupérés que tard dans l'histoire byzantine et leur généralisation n'est pas antérieure à la fin du XVe siècle. Pléthon († 1452) ne la connaît pas encore (cf. Maltese, *Opuscula*, p. VIII). De 1471 à 1491, la grammaire de Chrysoloras ne les note pas non plus; il en va de même dans les grammaires de Chalcondylès et de Moschopoulos éditées ensemble vers 1493. Seule la grammaire de Lascaris les utilise partout dès sa première édition en 1476 (mais il en manque beaucoup dans l'édition de 1489). La généralisation des iotas souscrits semble consacrée, chez Alde Manuce, à partir de mars 1495 : on les voit dans l'édition de la grammaire de Lascaris, revue par l'auteur; on les retrouve en décembre dans la première édition de la grammaire de Théodore Gaza, et en 1496, la première édition complète de la grammaire de Chrysoloras, parue à Florence, a intégré la plupart des iotas souscrits, comme d'ailleurs les -ῤῥ- (cf. ci-dessus, n. 93). Tout se passe comme si les influences conjuguées de Lascaris et d'Alde Manuce avaient fini par s'imposer. Quoi qu'il en soit, la généralisation des iotas souscrits morphologiques (au datif, au subjonctif, etc.) fut certainement, à l'époque, une manière supplémentaire de faciliter la lecture, et notamment dans les imprimés, pour les lecteurs occidentaux. Quant aux iotas souscrits dans les racines, ils apparaissent encore plus tardivement (voir notamment, en 1518, λῃστής dans Melanchthon, *Institutiones*, col. 38).

[147] Ποί n'est cité par aucun des opuscules du *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, presque sûrement parce qu'il n'est attesté ni dans l'Iliade ni dans l'Odyssée. Pourtant il est employé par Platon, Xénophon, Libanius et bien d'autres. Ceci montre combien ces textes anciens sont encore axés sur Homère : la chose est évidente pour le premier opuscule; et les suivants, même s'ils apportent quelque changement, restent toujours très dépendants de la doctrine d'Hérodien. – Voir encore ci-dessous, n. 179.

Contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait penser *a priori*, les 7 mots encore utilisés à l'époque byzantine ne peuvent pas être traités en bloc.

Πω ne survit guère que dans οὔπω, μήπω, οὐδέπω, μηδέπω, où il est enclitique, ainsi que dans πώποτε, agrégat dans lequel πω ne l'est plus (s'il l'a jamais vraiment été, car nous sommes là devant un de ces cas épineux de synenclise[148]).

Ποι, enclitique, se rencontre encore de temps à autre à l'époque byzantine[149].

Ποθέν est rare, parfois enclitique, mais pas toujours[150].

Πη (ou πῃ), enclitique, est attesté, mais est rare[151]; chez Pléthon, il est presque toujours orthotonique[152]. Dans l'expression πῇ μὲν..., πῇ δὲ..., contrairement à ce qu'écrivent certains dictionnaires[153], πῇ porte un accent circonflexe et non un grave[154].

Πως est souvent orthotonique (portant le circonflexe comme l'interrogatif)[155], et les corrections dans les manuscrits semblent montrer que certains, plus que d'autres, tenaient à l'enclise du mot.

Les indéfinis που[156] et ποτέ sont davantage employés que les précédents. Leur caractère enclitique est très souvent attesté[157], mais nombreux sont

[148] Voir ci-dessous, p. 138-140.

[149] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. 17 (I 28, 11), p. 24, l. 6, p. 42 (I 85, 2), p. 81 (II 81, 9); t. 55, p. 98, l. 6, p. 124, l. 45. On notera que, dans quatre de ces six occurrences, ποι suit le mot πόρρω.

[150] Enclitique dans CCSG t. 11, p. 33, l. 73; t. 31, p. 162, l. 46; t. 33, p. 148, l. 25; t 55, p. 220, l. 18 (οὐρανόθέν ποθεν). Orthotonique dans CCSG t. 30, p. CXI (ἄνωθεν ποθέν). La raison de la différence n'est pas claire. Voir toutefois ci-dessous, p. 142, pour οὐρανόθέν ποθεν.

[151] Voir CCSG t. 30, p. CXI.

[152] Cf. Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII.

[153] Notamment ceux de Bailly et de Sophocles, mais pas ceux de Liddell-Scott et de Dimitrakos.

[154] Cf. CCSG t. 10, p. 70, l. 20-21, p. 90, l. 4-5; t. 13, p. 47 (II 2, 1-2 et 4); t. 16, p. 158, l. 72-73; t. 31, p. 302, l. 8-9; t. 55, p. 203, l. 14-16; t. 67, p. CXX. Même orthographe dans le *Thesaurus* lui-même, au fol. 228v. Nous verrons immédiatement l'explication du phénomène.

[155] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. LI (avec la n. 36); t. 30, p. CXI; t. 56, p. 28, l. 23, p. 93, l. 37, p. 98, l. 16, p. 194, l. 19, p. 204, l. 9, p. 205, l. 40, p. 206, l. 14, p. 277, l. 26, p. 311, l. 26; t. 60, p. 5, l. 55; t. 74, p. LXXXI et p. 12, poème 11, l. 15. Voir ci-dessous pourquoi πως, quand il porte l'accent parce qu'il est suivi d'un autre enclitique, ne porte pas l'aigu mais le circonflexe

[156] Comme πη et πως, le mot που, même indéfini, s'il est accentué, porte le circonflexe et non l'aigu. Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. LI, n. 37; t. 74, p. 77, poème 82, l. 4. Voir ci-dessous.

[157] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 524; CCSG t. 23, p. CLXXII; t. 30, p. CXI; t. 31, p. XC, n. 47; t. 56, p. 231, l. 74, p. 245, l. 17, p. 249, l. 42, p. 300, l. 26, p. 314, l. 49,

aussi les cas où ils sont orthotoniques[158]. Peut-on déterminer quand ils gardent leur accent et quand ils observent la règle de l'enclise ? Pour ποτέ, il est clair que lorsqu'il signifie non un vague « un jour » mais « jadis »[159], ou lorsqu'il est relié à une négation (οὐ, μή) séparée de lui pour exprimer ainsi l'idée d'« absolument jamais », il est orthotonique; de même évidemment dans l'expression ποτὲ μὲν..., ποτὲ δὲ[160]. Semblablement, που, lorsque dans le contexte il veut dire « quelque part » dans le sens de « pas nulle part », conserve évidemment son accent propre et s'écrit ποῦ[161]. Tant pour που que pour ποτέ, lorsque le sens les unit clairement au mot qui les suit plutôt qu'au mot qui les précède[162], ils ne sont plus enclitiques. Mais il y a des cas d'orthotonie que cela ne suffit pas à expliquer : il semble bien que, pour ces mots, la pratique de l'enclise ait été de moins en moins généralisée.

Dans le *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, aucun texte, à ma connaissance, ne laisse deviner l'existence de ces indéfinis orthotoniques[163], qu'ils aient déjà existé dans l'Antiquité ou qu'ils soient le fruit d'une évolution.

Par contre, un passage du 5ᵉ opuscule sur les enclitiques explique pourquoi που, πως, πη – et ajoutons ποι – portant l'accent aigu (comme dans plusieurs de nos dictionnaires) sont quasi introuvables dans les manuscrits byzantins[164]. Parlant de synenclise, il dit que si un des enclitiques που, πως et πη est suivi d'un enclitique, il est écrit sans accent : son accent

p. 346, l. 66; t. 74, p. LXXX-LXXXI; Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII.

[158] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 524; CCSG t. 14, p. LI; t. 30, p. CXI; t. 39, p. 117, l. 475; t. 56, p. 8, l. 119; t. 60, p. 39, l. 943, p. 40, l. 958, p. 46, l. 1101, p. 53, l. 1277, p. 56, l. 1338, p. 60, l. 1447 (pour ces six dernières références, voir dans l'apparat combien Allatius [cf. n. 91], en 1655, était zélé pour rétablir l'enclise); t. 67, p. CXXI; t. 74, p. LXXX-LXXXI; Noret, « Quand donc », p. 195. – Vendryes, *Traité*, § 117, signale que ποτέ se trouve de temps à autre en début de phrase dès qu'on sort de la langue homérique. Chez Halkin, *BHG*, 3, p. 335, et *Novum Auctarium*, p. 425, on trouvera une dizaine de Ποτέ comme premiers mots de textes chrétiens.

[159] Voir par ex. CCSG t. 14, p. 69, l. 222; t. 25, p. 45, l. 1358; t. 30, p. 76, l. 283; t. 31, p. 122, l. 25. L'article ne peut visiblement jamais recevoir l'enclise de ποτέ.

[160] Employée dans le premier opuscule du *Thesaurus* à la fin du fol. 224v.

[161] On trouve un bel exemple d'un tel emploi dans CCSG t. 14, p. 175, l. 313.

[162] Voir notamment CCSG t. 74, p. LXXX-LXXXI.

[163] Laum, *Akzentuationssystem*, ne signale, lui non plus, aucune scholie du texte homérique qui mette en doute l'enclise d'un de ces indéfinis.

[164] Tout récemment encore, M. De Groote, dans CCSG t. 74 (voir p. LXXI), n'a trouvé qu'un seul που et un seul πως accentués; il les édite avec un aigu, mais signale chaque fois que tous les témoins manuscrits portent le circonflexe. Il y a bien longtemps, à une époque où on n'osait guère encore s'affranchir des « règles » que tous semblaient observer, J. Declerck a édité un πού (CCSG t. 10, p. 81, qu. 109, l. 1), mais il signale en apparat que le ms. porte ποῦ.

passe sur le mot précédent, mais lui-même ne reçoit pas un accent aigu de l'enclitique qui le suit, ἐπεὶ μὴ πέφυκεν ἡ περισπωμένη κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, συστολῆς μὴ παρακολουθούσης, εἰς ὀξεῖαν μετατίθεσθαι, « parce que normalement l'accent circonflexe[165], selon l'habitude commune, si un abrègement n'accompagne pas, ne se change pas en aigu »[166]. La mention de cette habitude explique nos constatations et il faut bien conclure que les accentuations πού, ποί, πή, πώς ne correspondent pas à l'orthographe traditionnelle.

Μου, μοι, με, formes théoriquement atones du pronom personnel de la première personne, ne sont de fait que très rarement accentuées. En tant que formes atones, elles ne peuvent pas, normalement, suivre une préposition[167]; les exceptions ont cependant été constatées depuis longtemps[168], et notamment il est courant de rencontrer le syntagme πρός με[169].

165 Tel est le sens de ἡ περισπωμένη (cf. Vendryes, *Traité*, § 45).

166 En effet, ni le ου de πoυ, ni le ω de πως, ni le η de πη ne pouvaient jamais devenir brefs. Le texte du *Thesaurus*, au fol. 234r, transmet un inacceptable περικολουθείσης; nous l'avons remplacé par παρακολουθούσης, que transmet la recension de Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 146. Lentz (*Herodiani*, p. 563) a imprimé παρακολουθησάσης; par conjecture ?

167 La règle énoncée par les 3e et 5e opuscules du *Thesaurus* (fols. 229v et 233r), selon laquelle les prépositions, lorsqu'elles régissent un pronom personnel de la première ou de la seconde personne, en régissent toujours la forme tonique, correspond à l'usage des manuscrits byzantins dans l'énorme majorité des cas. Notons que, lorsqu'on dit préposition, il s'agit essentiellement des prépositions d'une ou deux syllabes qui peuvent également se retrouver comme préfixe dans quantité de verbes, substantifs, etc. Les deux opuscules ajoutent l'exemple d'ἕνεκα, à propos duquel Apollonius Dyscole avait osé écrire : Τίς γὰρ ἂν θαρρήσειεν Ἑλλήνων ἐγκλίνειν τὸ ἕνεκ' ἐμοῦ; (Uhlig, *Apollonii*, II, 67, p. 175; de fait, aujourd'hui encore, on ne trouve dans tout le *TLG online*, que deux occurrences d'ἕνεκά μου, une chez Théodore Métochite, et l'autre dans une scholie à Euripide). Pour d'autres prépositions, comme πλήν et ἐκτός, voir ci-dessous, n. 170.

168 L'opuscule du *Thesaurus* attribué à Jean Charax signale en effet (fol. 228v) qu'on rencontre περὶ μοῦ, μετὰ μοῦ, σὺν μοί, ὑπὲρ μοῦ (Bekker, rééditant ce texte en 1821, remplace les μοῦ par ἐμοῦ et le μοί par ἐμοί [*Anecdota*, p. 1154]; il faudrait vérifier si ce n'est pas par conjecture), de même d'ailleurs qu'on peut trouver ἤ μέ, le ἐ de ἐμέ ayant été absorbé dans le ἤ qui le précède. Semblablement, dans le *Thesaurus*, le 5e opuscule (fol. 233r) donne l'exemple de κατὰ μέ, mais le texte semble corrompu : Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 144, édite κατ' ἐμέ (comme d'ailleurs Lentz, *Herodiani*, p. 559). Quant à Vendryes, il aligne plusieurs exemples de prépositions portant l'accent d'enclise de la forme atone qui les suit; ces exemples sont tirés de la littérature la plus classique, si bien qu'il conclut : « La vérité est qu'(après préposition) on emploie le plus souvent les formes orthotoniques. » (*Traité*, § 112).

169 Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 519, où 8 de ces cas ont été dénombrés. Charax, à l'endroit cité à la note précédente, signale aussi un πρός με employé par Ménandre, à propos duquel « les exégètes » disent : « ἀντὶ πρὸς ἐμέ ». En fait, cette manière de dire est attestée bien avant Ménandre, et d'autre part son emploi dans la Septante et dans le Nouveau Testament est si fréquent qu'elle est devenue normale dans la langue postérieure.

Σοῦ, σοί, σέ peuvent être soit orthotoniques, soit enclitiques ; ils sont orthotoniques, disent les règles anciennes, quand il faut distinguer, opposer des personnes : « toi, pas moi, pas lui », « lui et toi » (donc, après καί), « lui ou toi » (donc après ἤ); ils sont également orthotoniques après une préposition[170]. La pratique des manuscrits byzantins est généralement conforme à ces règles, mais ici encore on a signalé un πρός σε isolé[171].

La conjonction monosyllabique τε, déclarée enclitique par les cinq opuscules du *Thesaurus* sans qu'aucune exception soit signalée[172], devrait en conséquence ne jamais porter d'accent, si ce n'est un aigu lorsqu'elle est suivie d'un autre enclitique. Or, dans les manuscrits byzantins, on rencontre régulièrement des τὲ (avec accent grave). J'ai traité de la question dans une petite note[173], laquelle, me semble-t-il, reste entièrement valable; ses constatations valent pour des textes du Xe s. aussi bien que pour d'autres de la seconde moitié du XVe, et elles ont encore été confirmées par une étude ultérieure sur l'accentuation de τε dans les *Commentaires sur l'Odyssée* d'Eustathe de Thessalonique[174] (2de moitié du XIIe s.).

Selon ces études, τε reste toujours enclitique quand il suit immédiatement une préposition; de même, lorsqu'il suit un article[175]. Dans les autres cas, il peut soit être prononcé lié au mot précédent et être ainsi enclitique, soit être prononcé lié au mot suivant et porter alors un accent grave. Il n'y a pas de règle, mais il y a des tendances nettes: l'enclise est fréquente après un mot oxyton ou proparoxyton; elle est minoritaire après un paroxyton ou un périspomène, surtout si τέ est immédiatement suivi de καί[176]. Il me paraît également que, conformément à l'évolution de l'accentuation qui sera exposée en fin de cet article, après un mot pro-

[170] Ce mot étant à entendre comme dans la n. 167, y compris l'adjonction de ἕνεκα. On peut dire en effet ἐκτός σου (cf. CCSG t. 40, p. 93, l. 796) et πλήν σου (cf. *ibid.*, p. 97, l. 820), mais on peut dire aussi πλὴν σοῦ (cf. CCSG t. 31, p. 141, l. 29, p. 297, l. 4-5). Remarquons que dans tout le *TLG online* on ne trouve actuellement aucun exemple de πλήν μου ! – Comme pour le pronom de la première personne, l'emploi commun des formes orthotoniques après les prépositions habituelles laisse place à quelques exceptions (cf. Vendryes, *Traité*, § 112).

[171] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 519.

[172] Voir, dans le *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce, les fols. 225v, 229r, 229v, 230r, 231v et 233r.

[173] J. Noret, « L'accentuation de τε en grec byzantin », *Byzantion* 68 (1998), 516-518.

[174] I.A. Liverani, « L'accentazione di τε in Eustazio di Tessalonica », *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 36 (1999; éditée en 2000), 117-120.

[175] Mme Liverani enregistre une unique exception sur 71 cas, mais ne s'y attarde pas.

[176] En plus des articles cités, on pourra consulter notamment CCSG t. 19, p. 123; t. 30, p. CIX; t. 48, p. CXL; t. 60, p. LIII; t. 67, p. CXIX-CXX; Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 524. En 1493, la grammaire de Chalcondylès (cf. ci-dessus, n. 29) emploie encore des τε marqués de l'accent grave (par ex., au recto du fol. δiiii, après ἔτι).

périspomène l'enclise a tendance à n'être pratiquée que si le mot précédent τε gagne à être mis en évidence[177]; si en revanche il n'y a pas de raison de souligner celui-ci, l'enclise est plutôt évitée.

Dans le petit texte du *Thesaurus* qui ouvre la section sur les enclitiques, lorsqu'il parle du présent de εἰμί[178], l'auteur ne parle d'abord que des formes εἰμί, εἴς, ἐσσί, ἐστόν[179], ἐσμέν, ἐστέ et εἰσί; le traitement de ἔστι est reporté au folio suivant[180]. Aucune exception n'est signalée à l'enclise des sept premières formes. Il en va de même dans le bref traité de Choeroboskos et dans les mentions de εἰμί qu'on trouve dans les 4e et 5e opuscules[181]. Par contre, dans le traité de Jean Charax, qui traite en un seul bloc des verbes εἰμί et φημί, il y a quelque chose d'étonnant; on y lit (fol. 227v): Ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν οὐδὲν ἐγκλίνεται εἰ μὴ δύο μόνα, τὸ εἰμὶ καὶ φημί, δηλονότι προηγουμένων τῶν προῤῥηθεισῶν λέξεων, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπου εἰμὶ οὐκ ἐγκλίνεται, καὶ τὸ οὖν εἰμί (« Parmi les verbes aucun n'est enclitique, sinon deux seulement, εἰμί et φημί, évidemment si les mots qui les précèdent sont ceux dont il a été question, car ἀνθρώπου εἰμί n'a pas d'enclise, ni οὖν εἰμί »). Les mots dont il a été question, ce sont les proparoxytons, les trochaïques (les propérispomènes et quelques paroxytons) ainsi que les oxytons; dans ce traité en effet, les périspomènes n'acceptent pas l'enclise, d'où l'exemple οὖν εἰμί. Cette exception prévue par Charax à l'enclise d'εἰμί est cependant loin d'expliquer tous les cas de non-enclise qu'on rencontre

177 Tel est typiquement le cas de l'adjectif οἷος, qui, lorsqu'il est suivi de τε, acquiert une signification spéciale; il recevra donc l'enclise chaque fois que τε n'est pas lui-même suivi d'un autre enclitique, ce qui fait alors intervenir les règles complexes de la synenclise. D'où les accentuations οἷόν τε (cf. CCSG t. 55, p. 195, l. 9), οἷόν τε ἦν et οἷός τε εἶ, mais οἷον τέ ἐστι (cf. CCSG t. 30, p. CIX; t. 63, p. CCXXIV); dans ce dernier cas, l'accentuation de la particule τέ attire également l'attention sur le sens spécial de l'expression, et il n'est pas étonnant de la retrouver telle quelle dans le texte même du *Thesaurus*, au fol. 224v.

178 Cf. *Thesaurus*, fol. 224v.

179 Après ces trois formes spéciales de la seconde personne du singulier et du duel, il ne précise pas que la forme classique, εἶ, n'est pas enclitique; et en effet, cette forme ne se lit ni chez Homère, ni chez Hésiode. Nous avons là une seconde preuve, après celle de la n. 147, du fait que ce texte vise exclusivement une accentuation correcte de ces textes poétiques. – Dans le cinquième opuscule du *Thesaurus*, c'est également tout à la fin de l'exposé sur le présent de εἰμί (fol. 232v), pas avant, que vient la mention de la seconde personne, εἶ, non enclitique.

180 Dans une sorte d'appendice (voir ci-dessus, n. 50). Cet appendice est-il vraiment du même auteur que ce qui précède, on peut se le demander : voir ci-dessous, n. 210.

181 Respectivement, aux fols. 229v, 230r, 230v, 231r et 232v.

dans les manuscrits byzantins[182], et l'insuffisance ou l'obsolescence de ces règles est confirmée indirectement par le fait que dans les exemples que donnent les cinq opuscules du *Thesaurus* sur l'enclise d'εἰμί, c'est quasi toujours sur un nominatif, attribut ou sujet, que tombe cette enclise[183].

Mais, nous l'avons dit, la 3e personne du singulier, ἐστί, est traitée à part dans le premier opuscule du *Thesaurus*. Elle est, dit ce texte (fol. 225v), accentuée sur la première syllabe (ἔστι) lorsqu'elle se trouve en début de phrase ou quand elle suit soit la négation οὐ, soit καί, εἰ, ἀλλά, ὡς ou τοῦτο (cette liste des mots qui entraînent l'accentuation ἔστι varie selon les textes[184]). En dehors de ces cas, continue le premier opuscule, ἐστί est enclitique après un mot oxyton, périspomène, propérispomène (là, il mentionne quand même quelques exceptions[185]), ou encore proparoxyton; dans les autres cas, ἐστί n'est pas enclitique[186]. Hérodien (ou l'auteur de l'opuscule), qui s'exprime toujours ici en termes de métrique,

[182] Voir par exemple CCSG t. 14, p. LIII-LIV, où on constate notamment que le verbe εἰμί n'est jamais enclitique lorsqu'il suit un infinitif, qu'il ne l'est presque jamais après un mot au génitif ou au datif, et plus généralement qu'il n'est pas enclitique lorsque le sens le lie davantage à ce qui le suit qu'à ce qui le précède. Toutefois, il est souvent enclitique après un monosyllabe comme ποῦ, πῶς, γάρ, δέ et même après le οὖν cité par Charax, ce qui montre une fois de plus qu'en matière d'enclise il n'y a guère de règle stricte à l'époque byzantine. On trouvera des constatations analogues dans CCSG t. 23, p. CLXXII. Dans CCSG t. 39, p. 87, l. 158, on verra un bel exemple où la tradition manuscrite se divise : 1 ms. a ἐστι enclitique, les 7 autres l'ont orthotonique (ἐστί), mais ce qui est remarquable pour notre propos, c'est que le mot qui précède ἐστί n'est pas le même dans les deux branches et que chaque leçon est parfaitement cohérente.

[183] Une seule citation, αἵματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο (*Iliade*, 4, 611), avancée dans le premier opuscule et qui remonte probablement à Hérodien, n'est une exception qu'en apparence; le verbe est là enchâssé au milieu d'un génitif de qualité, lequel équivaut à un adjectif attribut.

[184] Dans le 5e opuscule, au fol. 232v, les mots entraînant derrière eux l'accentuation ἔστι sont seulement οὐκ, καί et ὡς (comme dans Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 142, dont le texte est fort proche). Par contre, dans le 4e opuscule, dont le texte est ici assez différent, on retrouve (fol. 231r) la liste du fol. 225v à l'exception de εἰ. Jean Charax, lui, ne parle que de οὐκ (fol. 227v). De son côté, *l'Etymologicum Magnum* donne la même liste que le premier opuscule, mais en omettant εἰ et en ajoutant μή (cf. éd. Th. Gaisford [Oxford, 1848; repr. Athènes, 2000], col. 863, n° 301, l. 2-5). Notons encore que les deux listes du *Thesaurus* parlant de ἀλλά et de τοῦτο ne donnent que des exemples où ces mots sont élidés; après τοῦτ'ἔστι, le 4e opuscule ajoute même : καὶ μετάγεται εἰς ἐπίρρημα τουτέστι (« et [ἔστι] est amené à l'adverbe τουτέστι »).

[185] Il n'y a pas d'enclise après les propérispomènes, si leur syllabe finale est longue par position : il faut dire et écrire κῆρυξ ἐστί, φοῖνιξ ἐστί, et non κῆρύξ ἐστι, φοῖνίξ ἐστι. Ces exceptions sont également mentionnées dans le 4e opuscule, au fol. 230r (et dans le passage parallèle de Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p.139-140).

[186] Conscient de la complexité de la règle, l'auteur se répète et dit équivalemment qu'ἐστί n'est pas enclitique après paroxyton ainsi que dans les exceptions signalées à la note précédente.

parlant de longues par nature ou par position, de spondées, d'ïambes, de pyrrhiques, ne mentionne aucune exception à ces règles complexes, et notamment aucune exception fondée sur le sens de la phrase.

Pourtant, dans les manuscrits de l'époque byzantine, s'il ne fait aucun doute qu'ἔστι est paroxyton en début de phrase ainsi qu'après οὐκ[187] et ἀλλ', il faut bien constater qu'après καί, εἰ, ὡς et même τοῦτο, la chose est moins sûrement généralisée.

D'autre part, si en début de phrase, à l'époque byzantine comme selon les préceptes du *Thesaurus*, on accentue Ἔστι, il sera bon de remarquer que les autres formes du présent d'εἰμί peuvent aussi se trouver en début de phrase et sont alors oxytones : Εἰσί, mais aussi probablement Εἰμί, Ἐσμέν, Ἐστέ[188].

Après οὐκ, l'accentuation ἔστι s'est bien conservée, mais les autres formes du présent sont aussi orthotoniques : οὐκ εἰμί, οὐκ ἐσμέν, οὐκ ἐστέ, οὐκ εἰσί[189].

Après εἰ, καί, ὡς, ἀλλά et τοῦτο, l'usage paraît flotter : on peut notamment trouver ἐστί (accentué sur la dernière syllabe)[190]. Ici encore, après ces mots, on trouve parfois orthotoniques tant εἰμί que les formes du pluriel[191].

Il arrive aussi qu'après μὴ on trouve l'accentuation ἔστι[192] ou les autres formes du présent sans enclise.

Enfin et peut-être surtout – car c'est peut-être là que se trouve l'explication des variations signalées ci-dessus –, on trouve le paroxyton ἔστι[193],

[187] Cf. notamment CCSG t. 74, p. LXXXV-LXXXVI.

[188] Voir les Εἰσί au début de certains textes dans Halkin, *BHG*, t. 3, p. 300, et *Novum Auctarium*, p. 345. Dans le *Thesaurus* lui-même, au fol. 226r, une phrase commence par εἰσὶ δέ τινες. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 521, signale un cas de εἰμί en début de phrase.

[189] Voir Noret, « Faut-il écrire », p. 277-280. Voir aussi CCSG t. 31, p. XCI, n. 51, ainsi que Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 521.

[190] Dans les écrits de Cantacuzène (2de moitié du XIVe s.), Fr. Tinnefeld a en effet signalé la graphie καὶ ἐστί (cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII). Dans un texte d'Akindynos (1ère moitié du même siècle), J. Nadal a trouvé cinq cas de τοῦτ' ἐστί, dont les accentuations exceptionnelles sont d'ailleurs bien compréhensibles dans leur contexte (cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XCI, n. 50). Voir encore τοῦτό ἐστι dans CCSG t. 67, p. CXXII, où τοῦτο est mis en évidence.

[191] On lit par ex., et c'est bien normal, ἀλλ' εἰσίν (cf. CCSG t. 23, p. CLXXII; Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 521; à ma connaissance, l'accent ne remonte jamais sur ἀλλ'), καὶ εἰσίν (CCSG t. 24, p. 136, l. 218, et p. 137, l. 221).

[192] Conformément à la recommandation de *l'Etymologicum Magnum* (cf. ci-dessus, n. 184). On trouvera des exemples dans CCSG t. 31, p. XCI, n. 50; t. 39, p. 89, l. 169. Voir aussi t. 16, p. CXIII.

[193] Sûrement senti comme plus appuyé que l'ἐστί non enclitique mais oxyton. C'est ainsi en effet qu'on accentue quand on veut vraiment appuyer sur le mot (cf. CCSG

ou ἐστί oxyton, ou encore les autres personnes, non enclitiques, dans toutes sortes de contextes où, soit le sens invite à appuyer sur la valeur prégnante du verbe être[194], soit le sens lie le verbe davantage à ce qui le suit qu'à ce qui le précède[195].

Sur τις, pronom et adjectif (auquel sont régulièrement jointes les formes του et τῳ, équivalents des indéfinis τινός et τινί), les grammairiens anciens affirment que, lorsqu'il est indéfini, il est enclitique, et ils ne signalent aucune exception[196]. Mais on ne peut manquer de remarquer que dans tous les exemples qu'ils donnent, τις adjectif suit toujours directement le nom auquel il se rapporte, lequel reçoit l'enclise, et τις pronom suit presque toujours[197] immédiatement le verbe dont il est soit sujet (pour τις, τινές), soit complément (pour les autres cas). On notera aussi qu'après avoir donné les exemples ἦλθέ τις, ἐλάλησέ τις, le premier opuscule (*Thesaurus*, fol. 224r-v; Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 1143; Lentz, *Herodiani*, p. 552, l. 19) ajoute ἐν οἷς[198] καὶ πάντοτε ὑποτακτικόν ἐστι (« dans lesquels [exemples] il [le mot τις] est toujours placé derrière »). Dans les manuscrits byzantins, les τίς encli-

t. 14, p. 270, l. 481 : οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν τόπος… « il n'y a pas en effet, il n'y a pas d'endroit… »; voir aussi ἔστι γὰρ ἔστι(ν) dans CCSG t. 12, p. 4, l. 12; t. 13, p. 83, ch. 86, l. 1; t. 56, p. 164, l. 47).

[194] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 521-522. Voir aussi CCSG t. 14, p. LIII-LIV, où les exemples rencontrés après δ', après εἴπερ, et tous les autres exemples du haut de la p. LIV s'expliquent, je pense, par la volonté de souligner le sens plénier du verbe. Il en va probablement de même du ἔστι et de l'εἰσί qui suivent ἤ de CCSG t. 30, p. CXIII, n. 70, ainsi que de l'ἔστι qu'on lit dans CCSG t. 48, p. 52, l. 247/248. Voir encore CCSG t. 60, p. 14, l. 305-306. – Quant à la pseudo-règle qui voudrait qu'on accentue ἔστι chaque fois que le verbe équivaut à ἔξεστι ou chaque fois qu'il correspond à « exister » dans les langues modernes, elle n'est ni attestée chez les anciens grammairiens ni confirmée par les manuscrits. On trouvera des accentuations contredisant clairement cette prétendue règle, déjà dénoncée par Vendryes au début du XXe siècle (*Traité*, § 123) – ce qui n'a pas empêché les grammaires scolaires de continuer à la répéter –, dans CCSG t. 14, p. LIII et LIV; voir aussi CCSG t. 31, p. XC, n. 49; t. 55, p. 57, l. 35; t. 67, p. CXXII.

[195] Tel est le cas notamment lorsque le verbe être est suivi immédiatement d'un participe prédicat constituant avec lui une forme périphrastique de la conjugaison (voir, par exemple, CCSG t. 14, p. LIII; Noret « Faut-il écrire », p. 279). – Parmi les exemples, qui foisonnent, citons celui-ci : dans sa grammaire de 1476, Lascaris commence sa section sur les adverbes par Ἐπίρρημα ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον; l'enclise ne siérait pas, puisqu'on attend ce qui suit ἐστί : savoir ce qu'est un adverbe.

[196] Cf. le *Thesaurus* d'Alde Manuce aux fols. 224r-v, 227r-v, 229v, 230r, 231r, 232r.

[197] Seul le premier opuscule, celui attribué à Hérodien, cite aussi des cas (cinq sur six tirés d'Homère et d'Hésiode, comme l'a montré Lentz, *Herodiani*, p. 552) où τις suit les petits mots οὐ, μή, μέν, καί, ou encore deux fois le relatif ὅς (ce sont donc des attestations d'ὅστις dès les débuts du grec).

[198] Au lieu de ἐν οἷς, le *Thesaurus* porte ici ἐνίσης, clairement corrompu.

tiques sont encore souvent présents[199], mais les τίς indéfinis et pourtant orthotoniques sont loin d'être rares[200] et il y a même des cas où prononcer τις comme enclitique aboutirait à une absurdité[201]. Il me paraît clair que ces changements ont accompagné le fait que, à partir d'une certaine époque, la place de τίς dans la phrase est devenue beaucoup plus libre qu'à l'origine[202]. Remarquons pour terminer que l'orthotonie est plus fréquente encore pour les formes dissyllabiques que pour les formes monosyllabiques τις et τι[203], et que ces dernières, quand elles gardent leur accent, portent, dans de rares cas, un accent grave[204], mais la plupart du temps un accent aigu,

[199] Notamment après les prépositions, les conjonctions, ainsi qu'après μή et de nombreux autres monosyllabes (cf. CCSG, t. 14, p. LII). Après les prépositions, cela semble être resté l'usage habituel (cf. CCSG t. 26, p. 171; t. 30, p. CX; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 96; voir tout de même CCSG t. 60, p. 12, l. 249 et 250, où la nécessité du sens permet d'abandonner la prononciation habituelle). Voir aussi CCSG t. 23, p. CLXXII.

[200] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 522-523; CCSG t. 13, p. LI; t. 67, p. CXXI-CXXII. On aura remarqué que, dans plusieurs des cas cités à ces endroits, τις est pronom et régit un génitif qui le suit.

[201] J'ai attiré l'attention sur ce fait dans ma note « Quand donc » et j'y ai relevé trois sortes de contextes où il semble particulièrement indiqué et fréquent que l'indéfini τις garde son accent propre : 1° quand il est le premier mot d'un syntagme (du temps d'Homère, même dans un tel cas, il semble que l'enclise ait joué puisque Hérodien cite comme exemple καί τινα Τρωϊάδων d'*Iliade* 3, 122; cf. *Thesaurus*, fol. 224v; Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 1144; Lentz, *Herodiani*, p. 552, l. 21-22); 2° quand, lié à une négation qui ne le précède pas immédiatement, il insiste sur l'absoluité de celle-ci; 3° quand le sens de « quelque » ou « quelque chose » est souligné (par opposition à « aucun » ou à « rien »); voir aussi CCSG t. 14, p. LII; t. 48, p. CXL.

[202] Parmi les textes chrétiens, certains ont pour tout premier mot un Τίς indéfini ou une des formes de sa déclinaison : voir Halkin, *BHG*, 3, p. 340, et *Novum Auctarium*, p. 427. Vendryes, qui n'envisageait pas des textes aussi tardifs, signale quand même l'existence de τινὲς μὲν en début de phrase ou après ponctuation, mais, dit-il, le phénomène est rare (*Traité*, § 117).

[203] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 522-523; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 96.

[204] Il arrive aussi qu'un τίς interrogatif porte un accent grave. Le passage suivant, tiré du 4e livre de la grammaire de Théodore Gaza (fol. ι ι IIv), montre bien à quel point, dans l'accentuation byzantine, un recours souple à l'accent aigu et à l'accent grave pouvait rendre vivante la prononciation d'un texte. A propos de l'interrogatif τίς, le grammairien écrit: *συνάπτεται ... μάλιστα τὸ τὶς, τῶν ῥημάτων τοῖς ὑπαρκτικοῖς τε καὶ κλητικοῖς, ἐπαγομένου τε ὀνόματος, καὶ εἰ ἀντωνυμία ἐκ τρίτου πρόσκειται· τίς ἐστιν οὗτος; ἢ τὶς ὅδε καλεῖται; ὅτι Σωκράτης· καὶ ἐλλειπτικῶς τοῦ ὑπαρκτικοῦ· τὶς οὗτος; εἴ γε μὴν τὸ τὶς τάττηται μόνον, παντὶ ῥήματι συνάπτεσθαι δυνατὸν ἂν εἴη· τίς βαδίζει; τίς διαλέγεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀντωνυμία ἀποδοθείη, ἥκιστ' ἂν ἐπερωτήσεως δέοι· οἷον τὶς γράφει; ἐγὼ· εἰ δ' ὄνομα, ἔτι δεῖ ἐρωτήσεως ἑτέρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὁμώνυμον καὶ ἄλλως πολύσημον· τίς γράφει; Ἠσαΐας· τὶς Ἠσαΐας; ὁ Νικολάου* (« Le mot τίς est souvent lié à des verbes signifiant *être* et *s'appeler* suivis d'un nom; et si c'est un pronom de la 3e personne qui est ajouté : «Qui est celui-là ?» ou «Quel est le nom de celui-ci ? – Socrate»; et si on laisse tomber le verbe être : «Qui (est) celui-là ?». Et si τίς est employé tout seul, il est susceptible d'être lié à tout verbe : «Qui marche ?», «Qui parle ?». Et si la réponse est un pronom, il est rare

exactement comme l'interrogatif homonyme[205]; seul le contexte, dans ces cas, permet de voir s'il s'agit de l'interrogatif ou de l'indéfini.

3. *L'enclise fonctionne parfois différemment.*

La manière dont fonctionne l'enclise a, elle aussi, évolué depuis l'Antiquité.

a) Après un oxyton, un proparoxyton et un périspomène

La manière dont fonctionne l'enclise n'est restée stable qu'après un oxyton, un proparoxyton et un périspomène[206]. Encore faut-il faire ici deux remarques.

L'enclise après un proparoxyton est restée assez fréquente. Mais il n'est pas exceptionnel que seul l'accent aigu sur la dernière syllabe soit écrit[207], ce qui indique que, comme aujourd'hui encore dans la lecture publique, c'était l'accent dominant dans la prononciation, tandis que l'autre aigu correspondait à un accent secondaire, moins appuyé.

Ensuite, certains proparoxytons ne le sont qu'en apparence. Ainsi, si on ne trouve pas l'accentuation λόγιός ἐστι, mais λόγιος ἐστί[208], c'est parce que, la langue ayant évolué et l'iota étant devenu une semi-voyelle, le mot λόγιος est en fait un paroxyton.

b) Après un paroxyton

Après un mot paroxyton, les règles anciennes étaient complexes mais, à première vue, bien établies. Si le paroxyton suivi d'un enclitique était trochaïque, c'est-à-dire si son avant-dernière syllabe était longue par position et sa dernière brève, la syllabe finale du trochée recevait l'ac-

qu'il faille une question ultérieure. Ainsi, «Qui écrit ? – Moi.» Mais s'il y a un nom, il faut encore une autre question à cause de l'homonymie du nom ou encore de sa polysémie: «Qui écrit ? – Isaïe. – Quel Isaïe ? – Le (fils) de Nicolas» »).

205 Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII; t. 56, p. XLVI, n. 145; t. 74, p. LXXIX-LXXX.

206 Pour mémoire, rappelons qu'un enclitique « réveille » l'accent d'un oxyton : l'aigu ne se change pas en grave devant l'enclitique; qu'un proparoxyton reçoit sur sa dernière syllabe un accent aigu « supplémentaire », provoqué par la présence de l'enclitique; enfin, qu'un périspomène ne subit apparemment aucun changement, l'enclitique s'agglutinant à lui sans en changer la prononciation.

207 Les éditeurs ne notent pas souvent de tels phénomènes. Un exemple : *γεγεννηκά σε* dans CCSG t. 30, p. CVI.

208 Cf. CCSG t. 26, p. 172.

cent d'enclise; dans les autres cas, c'est-à-dire si les deux dernières syllabes du paroxyton formaient un spondée (longue-longue), un ïambe (brève-longue) ou un pyrrhique (brève-brève)[209], les enclitiques monosyllabiques perdaient leur accent mais le mot précédent ne recevait pas d'aigu sur sa dernière syllabe, tandis que les enclitiques dissyllabiques ne s'appuyaient pas sur le mot qui les précédait et gardaient donc leur accent propre sur leur syllabe finale[210].

Ces nuances compliquées, si elles furent un temps remises à la mode chez les Grecs érudits[211], qui pouvaient plus facilement que les Occidentaux assimiler et appliquer les petits traités édités par Alde Manuce puis souvent réimprimés, furent rapidement gommées dans les grammaires scolaires[212], qui passèrent sous silence le cas des paroxytons trochaïques et

[209] On ne parle pas ici des mots dont les deux dernières syllabes sont une longue par nature puis une brève, puisque ces mots-là sont normalement des propérispomènes et non des paroxytons.

[210] On retrouve cette règle dans chacun des opuscules du *Thesaurus* : fols. 224r, 226v, 229v (dans l'exemple ἄλλοί γαρ donné pour illustrer l'enclise de γάρ), 230rv, 231v, 234r (où il faut lire παροξύνοιτο et non προπαροξύνοιτο, ce que confirme le texte parallèle de Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 146). Plusieurs détails de l'énoncé de ces règles méritent toutefois d'être relevés : presque toujours, les paroxytons cités en exemples sont des mots de deux syllabes; trois fois, la syllabe finale du paroxyton, bien que brève, devient longue par position à cause de l'enclitique qui le suit (ἄλλός μοι au fol. 226v; ἄλλός τις aux fols. 231v et 234r), mais cela ne l'empêche pas de recevoir l'accent d'enclise; une seule fois, dans le quatrième opuscule, on dit clairement que ce n'est pas le mot entier qui doit être un trochée, mais que ce peut être un mot de plus de deux syllabes, pourvu qu'il se termine par un trochée, et l'exemple donné est τυφθέντά τε (fol. 230r ; confirmé par Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 139). La règle serait donc claire si on ne devait relever deux choses. D'abord, dans le premier opuscule, les exemples donnés au fol. 224r sont λάμπέ τε et φύλλά τε καὶ φλοῖον, mais plus loin (fols. 225v-226r), quand l'appendice de ce même texte (mais cet appendice vient-il du même auteur que ce qui précède ? voir ci-dessus, n. 180) parle de la 3e personne du singulier de εἰμί, il dit clairement qu'après un trochée non propérispomène mais paroxyton, on accentue ἐστί, et il donne pour exemple μάντις ἐστί. Ensuite, dans le texte attribué à Jean Charax, on perçoit que tout le monde n'était pas d'accord sur la règle : les Anciens, dit l'auteur, cherchaient à éviter cette suite de deux aigus sur le même mot (κακοφωνίαν γὰρ ποιοῦσι) et les ἀκριβεῖς blâment cet usage; voilà pourquoi Aristarque (de Samothrace, vers 216 – 144 av. J.-C., élève d'Aristophane de Byzance; cf. F. Montanari, « Aristarchos von Samothrake », *Der neue Pauly*, 1 [1996], col. 1090-1094) ne voulait pas mettre un accent sur l'α final dans Ἄνδρά μοι, les deux premiers mots de l'Odyssée, disant : ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ποιήσεως παράλογον οὐ μὴ ποιήσω (fol. 226v).

[211] Voir ci-dessous n. 265, concernant Allatius au milieu du XVIIe siècle.

[212] Ainsi, Gretserus (dans le premier livre de ses *Institutiones linguae graecae*; je cite l'édition, revue par l'auteur, du t. XVI de ses *Opera omnia* imprimées à Ratisbonne en 1741) donne la règle concernant le paroxyton trochaïque, mais ajoute « Alii tamen aeque probabiliter volunt… » et donne ensuite la règle qui prévaut après tous les autres paroxytons; de nombreuses grammaires qui sont des résumés immédiats ou médiats de Gretser ont laissé tomber la particularité des paroxytons trochaïques. Quant à Clénard,

dirent qu'après tout paroxyton on suivait l'ancienne règle de l'enclise après les paroxytons se terminant par un spondée, un ïambe ou un pyrrhique.

Pourtant, on peut penser que c'est cette manière ancienne de prononcer qui s'est maintenue dans des expressions comme ἄλλό τι[213] ou ἔνθέν τοι[214], qu'on ne trouve presque jamais accentuées autrement dans les manuscrits. C'est peut-être elle encore qui explique les accentuations ἄρμά σου et ῥάβδόν μου du *Vaticanus gr. 2125*[215], voire ἔσχέ τι[216] de l'érudit Pléthon.

A côté de cela, pas mal de paroxytons trochaïques sont, dans les manuscrits, accentués comme doivent l'être, selon les règles anciennes, les autres paroxytons. Et inversement il n'est pas rare de rencontrer dans ces mêmes manuscrits des paroxytons non trochaïques suivis d'un enclitique et portant deux aigus, un sur chacune de leurs deux syllabes finales. La prononciation de ces mots marqués de deux aigus ne devait plus faire difficulté, contrairement à ce que dit le traité attribué à Jean Charax[217]: le second accent, celui de l'enclise, primait presque certainement sur l'autre[218]. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'extension de la possibilité d'avoir des paroxytons avec deux accents aigus semble être une nouveauté que révèlent les manuscrits byzantins. Nous tenterons de l'expliquer ci-dessous[219].

c) après un propérispomène

Après un propérispomène, les règles anciennes sont unanimes : le propérispomène suivi d'un enclitique reçoit sur sa dernière syllabe un second

son exposé sur les enclitiques a tenu dès le début en une demi-page (p. 107 [701 par erreur] de l'édition des *Institutiones in linguam graecam* de 1530); il n'entre donc pas dans de tels détails.

213 Cf. CCSG t. 9, p. 19, l. 10-11, p. 190, l. 35; t. 13, p. LI; t. 14, p. 156, l. 559; t. 19, p. 123; t. 31, p. 22, l. 56; t. 40, p. 44, app. l. 388; t. 74, p. XCII; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 96; voir encore quatre attestations chez Akindynos, citées dans Noret, « Notes », p. 87, n. 22.

214 Cf. CCSG t. 9, p. CLIII ; t. 13, p. 16, l. 17; t. 26, p. 134, l. 192; t. 55, p. 11, l. 1, p. 18, l. 43, p. 54, l. 26, p. 246, l. 30. Il n'est pas sûr que cette expression ait déjà été utilisée à l'époque classique, mais elle est attestée sûrement depuis le début de notre ère.

215 Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 519 ; il s'agit là d'un codex en onciales, qu'on date prudemment des environs de l'an 700, mais dont l'accentuation a été ajoutée plus tard (cf. Follieri, *Codices*, p. 14).

216 Cf. Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII.

217 Voir ci-dessus, n. 210.

218 Voir ci-dessous, n. 250.

219 Voir p. 140-145.

accent, un aigu qui est précisément la marque de l'enclise. Mais dans les manuscrits byzantins, c'est bien là la règle d'enclise qui est la moins suivie : ce second accent manque souvent. Dès 1910, on l'a noté à propos de l'enclise des pronoms personnels, ainsi que des diverses formes de φημί, d'εἰμί et de τίς[220]. Ces dernières années encore, on l'a souvent constaté[221]. L'explication de cette évolution sera esquissée ci-dessous.

d) quand plusieurs enclitiques se suivent (synenclise)

Trois des cinq opuscules du *Thesaurus* parlent des cas où plusieurs enclitiques se suivent, à savoir le premier et les deux derniers.

Le premier cite (fol. 223v) le vers 812 du 5e livre de l'Iliade ἤ νύ σέ που δέος ἴσχει, et dit que chaque enclitique éveille un accent aigu sur la syllabe finale du mot qui le précède, si bien qu'on a une suite d'accents aigus : le ἤ porte un accent aigu à cause de l'enclitique νυ, le νύ à cause du pronom σε, et le σέ à cause de που. C'est cette règle simple, à vrai dire simpliste, que les grammaires scolaires ont retenue et transmise[222].

Les quatrième et cinquième opuscules (fols. 231v-232r et 234r), qui ont pour ce passage un texte pratiquement identique, confirmé encore par celui d'« Arcadius »[223], montrent bien que cette règle pose des problèmes. L'auteur cite le même vers d'Homère que le premier opuscule et constate que trois accents aigus se suivent immédiatement. Il ajoute, avec quelque humour me semble-t-il, une réserve : « et il est possible d'en imaginer davantage, par exemple εἴ πέρ τίς σέ μοί φησί ποτε ... si bien qu'il y aura six aigus d'affilée, bien qu'une telle chose soit rare à cause de la continuité du souffle : on a besoin de respirer. »[224] La suite immédiate, omise par le quatrième opuscule mais identique dans le cinquième et chez « Arcadius », énonce une autre règle qui permet de réduire quelque peu la suite des accents aigus : « si dans une suite d'enclitiques l'un d'entre eux était

[220] Cf. Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 519-520, 521, 522 et 523.

[221] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LI; t. 14, p. LI; t. 16, p. CXIII; t. 19, p. 124 (où, dans la n. 6, on lira 117 au lieu de 177); t. 23, p. CLXXI; t. 26, p. 171-172; t. 30, p. CX; t. 55, p. LXXIX-LXXX; t. 67, p. CXIX-CXXII; t. 74, p. XCII ; Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII-IX; Noret, « Grégoire de Chypre », p. 96.

[222] Il en va ainsi de Gretserus et de tous ceux qui en dépendent, quand ils n'ont pas passé entièrement sous silence les problèmes de la synenclise.

[223] Cf. Barkerus, *Ἀρκαδίου*, p. 146.

[224] On rapprochera cela de ce que dit Jean Charax dans le texte évoqué ci-dessus à la n. 210.

périspomène comme ποῦ πῇ πῶς[225], et qu'après lui arrivait un autre enclitique, ce périspomène ne porte pas son accent circonflexe, puisque son accent passe sur ce qui le précède, et il ne porte pas non plus d'accent aigu, parce que normalement l'accent circonflexe, selon l'habitude commune, si un abrègement n'accompagne pas, ne se change pas en aigu[226] » ; l'auteur donne ensuite trois exemples, dans lesquels pas une seule fois deux aigus ne se suivent immédiatement. Pour notre part, nous pouvons citer au moins deux cas dans lesquels πον est suivi d'un mot qui est susceptible d'être enclitique, mais précisément ne l'est pas : καθά που φησίν et οὐκ ἄν που τινὰ τῶν ἐθνικῶν[227]. On peut donc se demander si la règle, non explicitée, n'est pas : που, πη, πως, ne sont pas susceptibles de recevoir une enclise.

Venons-en maintenant aux manuscrits byzantins. La règle simple proposée par le premier opuscule du *Thesaurus* n'y est, à ma connaissance, pas appliquée : je ne me souviens pas avoir rencontré trois syllabes consécutives toutes marquées d'un aigu. En fait, le grec – les grammairiens modernes l'ont remarqué depuis longtemps[228] – s'arrange pour éviter une telle suite[229].

Et si d'aventure deux enclitiques monosyllabiques se suivent, aucun des deux ne porte un accent : εἴ τι που et εἴ τις που[230], εἴ τις σε, ἄν γε σοι, πιστά σου γε[231]; tout se passe comme s'ils formaient un seul enclitique dissyllabique[232].

Toutefois, on trouve généralement deux accents aigus consécutifs sur de petits mots de 2 ou 3 syllabes dont la dernière est, étymologiquement, un enclitique et qui sont eux-mêmes suivis d'un autre enclitique : εἴτέ τι

[225] Les trois mots portent un circonflexe dans le texte.

[226] Voir ci-dessus, p. 128 et n. 166, où nous avons déjà dû citer ce texte. Il semble bien que l'enclise après un mot périspomène ait fait difficulté à certains grammairiens : voir ci-dessus, p. 130, l'exemple οὖν εἰμί, sans enclise.

[227] Cf. CCSG t. 30, p. 3, l. 3-4, et p. 49, l. 513.

[228] Cf. Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 75-76, et Vendryes, *Traité*, § 95, lequel, s'appuyant à la fois sur les meilleurs manuscrits de l'Iliade et sur les positions des linguistes allemands depuis 1835 – le livre de Goettling date de cette année – suppose « que la règle de synenclise a été fabriquée par les grammairiens » (anciens évidemment). Cela n'a pas empêché les grammaires scolaires des 150 dernières années de continuer à répéter cette règle phonétiquement impraticable.

[229] Reil, « Akzentuation », p. 525, a accumulé de nombreux exemples. Voir aussi CCSG t. 19, p. 125; t. 30, p. CXIII; Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. IX.

[230] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. 12, § 19, l. 3 et 6.

[231] Cf. CCSG t. 74, p. XCII.

[232] Des cas cités ici, on rapprochera les exemples καλός γε τις et οὐδέ τι μιν cités respectivement par Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 75, n° 107 et Vendryes, *Traité*, § 95, ainsi que ὥσπερ γε (cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXIV) et les expressions μήτιγε, καίτοιγε et ἤπουγε, dont il a été question ci-dessus (p. 122, avec les notes 125-127).

(ou τις, ou τινα)[233], οὔτέ τις (ou τι, ou τινι, ou τινος, ou τῳ)[234], μήτέ του[235] (ou τι)[236], ὥστέ τι[237], εἴπέρ που[238], εἴπέρ τις (ou τι, ou τινι ou τινες)[239], ἐπείπέρ ἐστιν[240], ἅπέρ ἐστι[241], ὅπέρ ἐστι[242], ὅπέρ τις[243], καθάπέρ τινι (ou τινα, ou τισιν)[244], ὥσπέρ ἐστι[245], ὥσπέρ τις (ou τι, ou τινες, ou τινος, ou τινι, ou τισι, ou τινα, ou τινας)[246], ὅστίς ποτε[247], ὅτί ποτε[248], ἥτίς ποτε[249], etc. Si, théoriquement, on peut se demander si nous ne sommes pas là devant de vieux cas de synenclise, il me paraît clair qu'au moins à la fin de l'époque byzantine, quand les espaces laissés entre les mots laissent bien voir les entités qui étaient conçues comme unités lexicales, toutes ces accentuations sont des exemples supplémentaires de paroxytons qui, suivis d'un enclitique, reçoivent un second accent sur leur syllabe finale, accent qui prime sur celui de la première syllabe[250].

4. *L'enclise après paroxyton et propérispomène a évolué. Une hypothèse d'explication et un* terminus ante quem.

Dans les manuscrits byzantins, nous l'avons dit, nombreux sont les paroxytons, même non trochaïques, munis de deux accents aigus devant un

[233] Cf. CCSG t. 9, p. CLIII; t. 63, p. CCXXIV; t. 69, p.72, l. 1207.

[234] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LI; t. 55, p. 297, l. 60; t. 63, p. CCXXIV; οὔτέ τῳ est donné comme exemple de l'enclise de τῳ, équivalent de τινί, dans le *Thesaurus*, fol. 224v.

[235] Cf. CCSG t. 55, p. 191, l. 73-74 (l'accent sur μη, moins important que celui sur τε, a été oublié par l'auteur et restitué par l'éditeur).

[236] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LI.

[237] Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII.

[238] Cf. Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII.

[239] Cf. CCSG t. 30, p. CX; t. 55, p. 215, app. l. 80/85; t. 63, p. CCXXIV.

[240] Cf. CCSG t. 14, p. 230, l. 736.

[241] Cf. CCSG t. 48, p. CXL, n. 27.

[242] Cf. CCSG t. 23, p. CLXXII; t. 48, p. CXL, n. 27; t. 63, p. CCXXIV.

[243] Cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXIV.

[244] Cf. *ibid.*

[245] Cf. CCSG t. 56, p. 59, l. 12.

[246] Cf. CCSG t. 9, p. CLIII; CCSG t. 13, p. LI; t. 16, p. CXIII; t. 23, p. CLXXII; t. 30, p. CX; t. 39, p. 105, l. 336; t. 63, p. CCXXIV.

[247] Cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XC, n. 47.

[248] Cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XC, n. 47; t. 55, p. LXXIX.

[249] Cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XC, n. 47.

[250] L'exemple de μητέ του cité à la note 235 est encore un bon indice de ce fait.

enclitique, et plus encore les propérispomènes auxquels manque l'accent d'enclise attendu.

Les causes de cette anarchie apparente ont été identifiées depuis longtemps : le grec avait perdu très tôt la différence de prononciation entre un accent aigu et un accent circonflexe; dans la suite, il perdit encore la différence entre voyelle longue et voyelle courte, toutes les voyelles devenant courtes en principe[251]. Quand ces changements eurent pénétré l'ensemble de la population hellénophone, on ne pouvait plus, dans la langue habituelle, distinguer un trochée d'un spondée, d'un ïambe ou d'un pyrrhique, et plus rien dans la prononciation de l'accent ne distinguait un propérispomène comme δῶρον d'un paroxyton comme λόγος: tous deux étaient simplement des mots accentués sur l'avant-dernière syllabe. Les règles anciennes, qui voulaient qu'on dise δῶρ**ό**ν ἐστι et δῶρ**ό**ν μου, mais λόγος ἐστ**ί** et λόγος μου (j'imprime en gras les voyelles réellement accentuées dans la prononciation), étaient impraticables; il semblait qu'on pût dire aussi bien δῶρ**ό**ν ἐστι et δῶρ**ό**ν μου que δ**ῶ**ρον ἐστ**ί** et δ**ῶ**ρον μου, aussi bien λ**ό**γος ἐστί et λ**ό**γος μου que λόγ**ό**ς ἐστι et λόγ**ό**ς μου.

Comment la langue réagit-elle ? Il me semble que l'enclise, qui entraînait une prononciation inhabituelle du mot précédant l'enclitique, fut, au cours de la période byzantine, de plus en plus réservée aux contextes dans lesquels le mot prononcé inhabituellement pouvait être mis en évidence. Par contre, s'il n'y avait pas de raison d'insister sur le mot précédant l'enclitique, on ne modifiait pas sa prononciation.

J'ai développé tout au long cette hypothèse, qui éclaire tant de cas, dans un article de 1995[252], en y donnant l'exemple des expressions ἄλλό τι et ἔνθέν τοι[253], ainsi que μέγά τι, dont je donnais trois exemples[254], et οὐκ ἐτόλμά πω trouvé chez Akindynos[255]. Mais dès 1989 José Declerck avait avancé cette explication pour l'accentuation οὐσίά τις trouvée dans les deux manuscrits de l'œuvre qu'il éditait[256]. La même explication vaut,

[251] Désormais seule la syllabe tonique était un peu plus longue que les non toniques (cf. Vendryes, *Traité*, §§ 28-30).

[252] Noret, « Notes », p. 86-87.

[253] Ce n'est donc pas un hasard si ces expressions ont conservé l'accentuation que décrivent les règles anciennes pour l'enclise après un paroxyton trochaïque (voir ci-dessus, p. 135-136) : les mots ἄλλο et ἔνθεν y sont presque nécessairement mis en évidence, si bien que la pratique byzantine rejoint ici la règle ancienne. La mémoire auditive, pour ces deux expressions assez courantes, a donc pu se maintenir.

[254] Cf. CCSG t. 33, p. 48, l. 43, et deux autres exemples tirés de manuscrits parce que les éditeurs n'avaient pas osé suivre ceux-ci.

[255] Corrigé par le Père Nadal dans son édition (CCSG t. 31, p. 389, § 46, l. 8).

[256] Cf. CCSG t. 19, p. 123.

je pense, pour τρόπόν τινα et πληροφορίάς φησι chez Nicéphore Blemmyde[257], pour ἤδέ ἐστι chez Pléthon[258], pour μέγά ἐστιν chez Maxime le Confesseur[259], ainsi que pour μέγά σοι et δέόν ἐστι λεπτῦναί (λεπτύναί dans le ms.) σοι d'une œuvre anonyme[260].

Au XIVe siècle, Akindynos, qui emploie ἄλλό τι et ἄλλός τις (et semblerait donc observer la vieille règle de l'enclise après un paroxyton trochaïque), écrit aussi ἄλλήν τινα et ἄλλώ τω, où il n'y a aucun trochée[261] : c'est donc bien l'habitude byzantine, ici l'insistance sur ἄλλην et ἄλλω, qui le guide, et il doit en aller de même lorsqu'il écrit ἔστί ποτε[262]. On peut faire le même raisonnement pour Dexios, son contemporain, qui écrit ἄλλά τε, mais aussi οὐρανόθέν ποθεν, et οὐδένά τινα[263]. Même raisonnement encore pour Christophe de Mytilène, nettement plus ancien (XIe s.), qui écrit βάθρά μου, mais aussi πόσά μοι[264]. Et on constate toujours la même chose dans le ms. le plus ancien, le *Vaticanus gr. 511* (Xe s.), d'un auteur dont le texte a subi la translittération et a presque certainement été accentué à cette occasion, Eustrate de Constantinople (VIe s.) : à côté de πύργοί τινες[265], on lit aussi θαυμασίάν τινα[266]. C'est encore l'insistance et non le trochée qui expliquent les accentuations φρίξαί ἐστιν du patriarche Nicéphore[267], ἄλλός τις et κύκλόν τινα de Léon VI (866-912)[268], et ἀφιέντάς τι de Jean Cantacuzène citant Prochore Cydonès[269].

C'est cet usage byzantin d'associer l'emphase à une certaine accentuation qui explique également, pour une grande partie du moins, les si nombreux cas où, dans les manuscrits, les propérispomènes suivis d'un enclitique n'ont pas l'accent d'enclise sur leur dernière syllabe[270]. En

[257] Cf. CCSG t. 13, p. LI.

[258] Cf. Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII.

[259] Cf. CCSG t. 69, p. CLXXXI.

[260] Cf. CCSG t. 30, p. 81, l. 77 et p. 22, l. 14-15 (voir aussi p. CVII).

[261] Cf. Noret, « Notes », p. 87, n. 22.

[262] Cf. CCSG t. 31, p. XCI, n. 50.

[263] Cf. CCSG t. 55, p. 7, l. 52, p. 220, l. 18 et p. 262, l. 54.

[264] Cf. CCSG t. 74, p. XCI-XCII.

[265] Cf. CCSG t. 60, p. 45, l. 1086 (app. crit.; on remarquera qu'Allatius [cf. ci-dessus, n. 91], en 1655, a conservé cette accentuation, à mon avis parce que πύργοι est un paroxyton trochaïque).

[266] Cf. ibid., p. 58, l. 1402 (accentuation que, cette fois, Allatius a modifiée).

[267] Cf. CCSG t. 33, p. 278, l. 6.

[268] Cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXIV.

[269] Cf. CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII, dont on trouvera le contexte p. 7, l. 28.

[270] Voir ci-dessus, p. 137-138.

effet, ce n'est pas parce qu'un substantif est suivi d'un simple possessif, μου ou σου, ou de τε qu'il doit être mis en évidence; de même un verbe suivi de μοι, με, σοι, σε ou de τε n'a le plus souvent aucun besoin d'être souligné particulièrement. Le lecteur pourra reprendre ici les références données plus haut[271] et juger. Il constatera que quelquefois les traditions manuscrites ne sont pas unanimes : certains scribes tentaient-ils, sporadiquement, d'appliquer la règle ancienne, un peu artificiellement ? Dans certains cas, il est clair aussi qu'on peut mettre ou ne pas mettre en évidence le mot qui précède l'enclitique : c'est une question de choix, l'expression d'une nuance différente.

En résumé, je crois qu'on peut dire qu'un paroxyton muni d'un second accent, dû à l'enclise, a de grandes chances d'être un mot mis en évidence[272]. On peut dire avec autant de certitude qu'un propérispomène suivi d'un enclitique sans pourtant recevoir l'accent d'enclise correspond à une manière de dire normale, où aucun mot n'est mis spécialement en valeur[273]. Quand par contre on se trouve devant un propérispomène muni du second accent dû à l'enclise, ce qui représente une prononciation archaïque[274], il faut se demander si le mot est mis en évidence[275] ou si on a affaire à une pure graphie, artificielle, d'un scribe qui connaît et veut appliquer les prescriptions antiques.

[271] Dans les notes 220-221.

[272] On sera prudent toutefois avant de considérer comme mis en évidence tous les petits mots dissyllabiques et portant deux aigus que nous avons cités ci-dessus p. 140. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue, notamment, que la particule περ, laquelle originellement attirait l'attention sur ce qui la précédait, a souvent perdu sa force dans ὅπερ et ἅπερ devant ἐστι ou εἰσι : on ne recourait parfois à l'insertion de περ que pour éviter l'hiatus. Il faut sûrement tenir compte, pour un bon nombre de ces expressions, d'habitudes langagières.

[273] On s'en rend bien compte si on considère les cas de propérispomènes dénués d'accents d'enclise (accents que l'éditeur a cru devoir ajouter dans son édition) cités par Fr. Tinnefeld dans le texte de Jean Cantacuzène, CCSG t. 16, p. CXIII. Le contexte ne demande jamais que le propérispomène soit mis spécialement en évidence : voir p. 8, l. 36-37 pour τοῦτο φατέ; p. 8, l. 48 pour ἀναγκαῖον μοι; p. 13, l. 29 pour φαῦλα γε; p. 13, l. 50 pour ποῖον ἐστί; p. 28, l. 3 pour φρονῆσαι τὲ καὶ...; p. 41, l. 34 pour ἧττον ἐστί.

[274] Dans cette prononciation, l'accent d'enclise prend le pas sur l'accent premier, comme dans un proparoxyton ou dans un paroxyton (voir p. 135 et notes 207 et 250). Voir par ex. πρωτόν γε (CCSG t. 67, p. CXX), où l'accent premier en a été oublié.

[275] Tel est évidemment le cas pour le τοῦτο du τοῦτό ἐστιν relevé dans CCSG t. 67, p. CXXII, ainsi que pour les deux τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν signalés au même endroit. Il est intéressant de comparer les contextes des deux εἴπέρ που et de l'ὥσπερ που signalés par Maltese, *Contra Scholarii*, p. VIII : tandis qu'il est tout naturel de souligner les εἴπερ, il ne convient pas de souligner le ὥσπερ.

Une question mérite d'être posée : comment l'enclise est-elle devenue, dans certains cas, une manière de mettre un mot en évidence ? A priori, on peut dire que, de toute façon, prononcer un mot autrement que d'habitude attire l'attention sur lui, mais il y a plus. D'une part, les particules περ, γε et τοι, qui sont pour ainsi dire les enclitiques par excellence puisqu'elles seules, dans la langue byzantine, ne portent jamais leur accent propre – tout au plus sont-elles susceptibles de porter l'accent d'un enclitique qui les suit –, servent précisément, avec des nuances différentes, à attirer l'attention sur le mot qui les précède. D'autre part, cinq personnes du présent de εἰμί sont susceptibles d'être enclitiques mais, dans la langue byzantine, elles ne le sont qu'une fois sur deux ou un peu plus; or, précisément, quand elles sont enclitiques, dans la plupart des cas, elles suivent immédiatement le prédicat ou un équivalent, ou encore le sujet, voire un infinitif (quand la 3e personne du singulier a le sens d'« il est possible »), en somme presque toujours un mot important de la phrase. C'est à cause de ces cas, à mon avis, qu'enclise et mise en évidence d'un mot ont eu tendance à aller de pair[276].

Et une autre question vient enfin : depuis quand l'accentuation de la syllabe finale d'un mot normalement accentué sur l'avant-dernière est-elle un moyen d'insister sur ce mot ? Au moins depuis le milieu du VIIe siècle. En effet, le hasard a voulu que nous gardions un texte de Maxime le Confesseur[277] dont un passage serait proprement incompréhensible si on n'avait pas à l'esprit qu'à Byzance un enclitique permet parfois de souligner le mot qui le précède. On y apprend que Theopemptos, un lettré, a demandé à Maxime si, dans la lecture publique des mots de l'évangile ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ὑποπιάζῃ με (*Luc* 18,5), il fallait prononcer ὑποπιάζῃ en l'accentuant sur l'avant-dernière syllabe (βαρυτόνως) ou en l'affectant d'un périspomène (περισπωμένως), c'est-à-dire en l'accentuant sur la dernière comme on le fait pour les verbes contractes. Maxime est visiblement décontenancé par la question; il répond que régler la prononciation est du ressort des spécialistes en la matière, et se contente de rappeler l'évidence : ce sont les verbes contractes seuls, tels νοῶ, χρυσῶ, ποιῶ qui sont accentués d'un périspomène sur la dernière syllabe. La question de Theopemptos ne prend un sens que s'il a voulu demander : faut-il accen-

[276] Même φημί peut servir à mettre en évidence le mot qui le précède (cf. CCSG t. 63, p. CCXXIII).

[277] Il s'agit des *Quaestiones ad Theopemptum* éditées il y a une dizaine d'années : B. Roosen – P. Van Deun, « A Critical Edition of the *Quaestiones ad Theopemptum* of Maximus the Confessor (*CPG* 7696) », *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies (formerly Het Christelijk Oosten)* 55 (2003), 65-79.

tuer le verbe sur l'avant-dernière syllabe (ὑποπιάζῃ με) ou sur la dernière (ὑποπιάζῄ με), ce qui est rendu possible par la présence de l'enclitique με ? En effet, un rhéteur peut, dans le contexte, être tenté d'insister sur le verbe, et d'autre part ὑποπιάζῄ et ὑποπιαζῇ sont deux graphies correspondant à une seule et même prononciation[278]. J'ai expliqué tout cela plus longuement et avec plus de détails dans un petit article[279].

Mais on peut se demander si l'accent d'enclise affectant un paroxyton pour le mettre en évidence n'est pas bien plus ancien. Nous avons vu[280] qu'Aristarque ne voulait pas accentuer Ἄνδρά μοι, les deux premiers mots de l'Odyssée. Or, Ἄνδρα représente là Ulysse, le héros de toute l'épopée; n'était-ce pas là à l'époque une accentuation nouvelle, liée à la mise en évidence du mot précédant l'enclitique? Il est trop tôt pour répondre.

Je ne voudrais pas terminer cette étude austère sans remercier tous ceux qui, depuis trente ans, ont accepté, en préparant des éditions pour la Série grecque du *Corpus Christianorum*, de considérer attentivement, avec moi, l'accentuation des manuscrits qu'ils éditaient et ont consigné soigneusement leurs observations; sans leur travail, austère lui aussi, et sans leur patience, la présente compilation, si imparfaite soit-elle, n'aurait jamais pu voir le jour. Ce sont surtout, dans l'ordre chronologique de nos collaborations – pour autant que ma mémoire ne me trompe pas –, Constant De Vocht, Joe Munitiz, José Declerck, Michiel Hostens, Basile Markesinis[281], Franz Tinnefeld, Peter Van Deun, Carl Laga, Juan Nadal Cañellas, Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, Bart Janssens, Gerard Ettlinger, Theodora Antonopoulou et Tomás Fernández. Dans les dernières années, Ioannis D. Polemis, Christian Boudignon, Jean-Marie Auwers et Marc De Groote ont encore travaillé de la même façon. Nous ont aussi aidés, bien plus qu'ils ne se l'imaginent, ceux qui, de loin, nous ont encouragés, notamment Enrico V. Maltese, Elisabeth Schiffer, Antonia Giannouli, Diether Roderich Reinsch. Enfin, le Professeur Martin Hinterberger, en me demandant explicitement d'élaborer la présente synthèse, a été le catalyseur, sans qui les innombrables données rassemblées ici seraient restées éparses.

[278] Au milieu du VIIe s., les accents, dans la plupart des manuscrits, ne sont pas encore notés, et c'est probablement ce qui explique à la fois la manière un peu maladroite dont Theopemptos a posé sa question et le fait que Maxime ne l'ait pas comprise.

[279] J. Noret, « Un texte de Maxime le Confesseur parlant indirectement de l'enclise byzantine », *Byzantion* 74 (2004), 205-209.

[280] Ci-dessus, n. 210.

[281] En trente ans de compagnonnage et de discussions quasi quotidiennes, il m'a tout appris du peu que je sais sur le grec moderne.

Summary – Byzantine Accentuation: In Which Respects and Why it Differs from Modern 'Scholarly' (and Occasionally Absurd) Accentuation.

The invention of diacritical signs in the Greek language goes back to the Alexandrian period, but their usage in all words of a text gradually became generalised only from the end of the 8th c. on. 'Correct' use required a certain degree of learning, but was facilitated by the living knowledge of the language. When during the Renaissance Westerners desired to read and to edit Greek texts correctly, they learnt the language, especially from the 16th c. on, in an exclusively academic way, without living contact with native speakers. In this learning process accentuation was the least necessary element and in those places where it was particularly subtle, as in the environment of the enclitics, scholars relied on some specific ancient writings published by Aldus Manucius that aimed primarily at illuminating how accentuation functioned in Homer and the ancient poets.

This article explores the differences between the accentuation practised by the 'savants' of more recent centuries and the practice to be found in the Byzantine manuscripts, and is divided into two main parts: differences related to the *enclisis*, and differences not related to *enclisis*. Among the latter group, the accent of oxytone words before punctuation, the accent in word clusters, differences in usage of the spiritus, the accent *thesei* or *physei*, as well as the use of the apostrophe, the coronis, the trema (διαίρεσις) and the double gravis are examined. As regards the differences related to the *enclisis*: a) the words capable of *enclisis* are far less numerous than in Antiquity, b) the words capable of being enclitic are not always enclitic, c) the *enclisis* functions differently from the 'rules', sometimes after a proparoxytone, and often (and sometimes depending on the meaning) after a paroxytone or a properispomenon, and d) the *synenclisis* does not follow the simplistic rule of the grammarians. Last, these differences in the way the *enclisis* functions go back at least to the middle of the 7th c., perhaps even to the Alexandrian period.

KATEŘINA BOČKOVÁ LOUDOVÁ

ON THE CATEGORY OF PARTICLES IN BYZANTIUM

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, I will summarize what we have learned so far about the existence, the function and the status of particles as a grammatical category in the Byzantine period. Second, I will focus on late Byzantine period and discuss the usage of particles in Nikephoros Blemmydes' rhetorical essay *Basilikos Andrias*, which was written in the learned language[1] of the period. The juxtaposition of its metaphrase – written in a simpler language register (literary koine or 'Schrift-Koine') – will help us get a more precise and illustrative picture of the usage of particles in learned Greek of late Byzantine period.

1. Particles as a subject of diachronic linguistic analysis

When dealing with the use of particles in learned Byzantine Greek, it is necessary to ask what we have learned so far about further existence of the originally Ancient particles in Byzantine Greek in general, regardless of the language register. The studies which deal with this topic are still very few, especially when compared with the parallel situation in the field of Classical studies. There, the application of the pragmatic functional approach by the 'Dutch school' that pioneered the usage and the verification of this method in Classical texts reaped its first fruit in the 1990s when the first publications analyzing Greek particles through pragmatically oriented approaches emerged.[2] The publishing of

[1] In this paper, I will use the terms 'learned' and 'vernacular' when referring to the linguistic form of the texts according to the definition given in Martin Hinterberger's paper, "How should we define vernacular literature?"; paper given at the conference *Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek* at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities, University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006. Available from: http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/pdf/Hinterberger.pdf [2 July 2012], pp. 1-16.

[2] For all, let us mention at least the monograph by C. M. J. Sicking and J. M. van Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage: Lysias and Plato* (Leiden, 1993).

the conference proceedings *New Approaches to Greek Particles* in 1997[3] was an enterprise of great significance; it dealt with Denniston's legacy[4] with dignity and, in the following decade, it started off a real 'boom' in the field of discourse markers and discourse structure analysis, both in poetry from Homer onwards and in drama and Classical Greek prose.[5] Unfortunately, the situation is not the same in later periods. Up to now, the only publications at our disposal are Blomqvist's still highly valuable monograph on particles in the Hellenistic period from the 1970s[6] and Wahlgren's detailed analysis covering the period of the Early Empire.[7] The existing research in the area of particles in Byzantine Greek has been restricted to several studies, analyzing especially vernacular literature. Henry Tonnet was dealing with 'connecting particles' in vernacular Byzantine Greek as early as the 1980s. He made an excerpt of data for this period from four works (originating in different periods) and, where possible, analyzed 200 lines of each of those:[8]

	καί	δέ	οὖν	λοιπόν	γάρ
Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale* (6th cent.)	20	21	15		
P. Lond. 1350, *P. Lond.* 1380 (7th–12th cent.); 60 lines of private correspondence	3	2	4	2	6

3 A. Rijksbaron (ed.), *New Approaches to Greek Particles. Proceedings of the Colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to Honour C. J. Ruijgh on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Amsterdam, 1997).

4 J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1934). J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles. Revised by K. J. Dover*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1950).

5 E.g. A. J. Rutger – M. Buijs (eds.), *The Language of Literature: Linguistic Approaches to Classical Texts* (Leiden, 1997). S. Bakker – G. Wakker (eds.), *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek* (Leiden, 2009).

6 J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund, 1969).

7 S. Wahlgren, *Sprachwandel im Griechisch der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit* (Gothenburg, 1995), pp. 89-163.

8 The chart was made on the basis of the data in H. Tonnet, "Aperçu sur l'évolution des particules de liaison (joncteurs) en grec", in J. Feuillet – H. Tonnet – C. Poghirc (eds.), *Linguistique: particules, emprunts lexicaux, langues anciennes*, Cahiers Balkaniques 12 (Paris, 1987), pp. 134-150.

Prodromic Poems (12th cent.)	4	14	rare	exceptional	10
The Chronicle of Morea (14th cent.)	21	1			10

For vernacular Byzantine Greek, he came to the following conclusions: the particle δή was already rare in the language of gospel books and it disappeared immediately afterwards. Δέ was still very well documented in the 12th century in Prodromic poems (however, it was already perceived as somewhat archaic there) and it disappeared approximately in the 14th century (there are only two instances in Stephanos Sachlikes, the 14th century). The function of δέ was divided between particles καί (when connective) and ἀμμή/μά (when adversative). Οὖν probably disappeared in the period from which we do not have many written sources, between the 7th and the 11th century. Γάρ was very frequent until approximately the 14th century when it also disappeared. Ἀλλά had to struggle with the rising particles ἂν μή, ἀμμή/μὰ ὅμως, but it remained in usage, probably because of the influence of learned Greek, and the fact that today it is used even more often than in antiquity is probably the result of this.[9]

These observations, nevertheless made mostly on the literary sources, might be compared with the research of other scholars who have explored the area of particles in vernacular Byzantine Greek: e. g. Egea[10] excerpted vernacular texts of the Komnenian era and Late Byzantine period written in verse (*Belthandros and Chrysantza*, *The Chronicle of the Morea*, *Ptochoprodromika*, *Song of Armouris* etc.). In his corpus of texts, the Ancient particles (γάρ, μέν, δέ, τε, οὖν, καί, ἀλλά etc.) continue to appear (the frequency of the last two even increases rapidly) while a more frequent occurrence of expressions which newly acquire the function of particles is noted (e.g. ἐκ τούτου, πάλιν, λοιπόν, τότε), and these gradually replace the Ancient particles.[11]

[9] Ibid.

[10] J. M. Egea, "Les Particules en grec médiéval", in N. M. Panayotakis (ed.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, I (Venice, 1993), pp. 108-117.

[11] Apart from Egea's study and occasional glosses on the occurrence of particles with Byzantine authors (e.g. E. Kriaras, "Γλωσσικά φαινόμενα σε δημώδη μεσαιωνικά κείμενα", in idem (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικά μελετήματα: γραμματεία και γλώσσα*, I (Thessaloniki, 1988), pp. 191-202. H. Christensen, "Die Sprache des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 7 (1898), pp. 366-397), only a couple of special studies on this topic are known to me: for the Early Byzantine period hagiographies (Leontios of Neapolis' *Vita Symeonis*; Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*) see D. Tabachowitz, "In Paladii

As follows from the above mentioned examples and was already stated by Manolessou,[12] the research of Byzantine Greek (including the area of particles) is limited by almost exclusively literary sources which cannot illustrate the situation in demotic Greek relevantly. Observations following from non-literary papyri which disappeared during the 7th century can be of some, yet limited, help, but only the early Byzantine period is sufficiently covered. Here, interesting conclusions were drawn by Willy Clarysse[13] for the chronological distribution of the enclitic *γε* (and its combinations *εἰ δὲ μή γε*, *εἴγε*, *μέντοι γε*, *καίτοι γε*) and *ἄρα* in non-literary papyri from the Ptolemaic period to the early Byzantine period (6th cent.). Both the particles were observed to disappear in later Ptolemaic papyri, but reappeared in the later Roman and the early Byzantine period, mainly in administrative documents, presumably as a reflection of Atticistic tendencies.[14] Generally, the particles felt by the composer to be of a higher stylistic value (*ἄρα*, *γε*, *μέν … δέ*, *οὐ μήν*) were usually incorporated in private correspondence of well-educated families or in petitions in order to provide them with rhetorical/official style and some literary flavour, in contrast with letters or petitions of ordinary people whose diversity of particles was restricted to *δέ*, *γάρ* and *οὖν*.

Thus, analysis of drafts of petitions and letters in Egypt from the 3rd century AD[15] revealed certain self-corrective interventions of their writers who substituted the asyndeton or *καί* with *δέ*, *οὖν* or even a combination of particles. A similar tendency has been proved by Staffan Wahlgren for the literary works of the 1st century BC authors of the Early Empire where the 'resurrection' of several purely Attic particles, being totally absent or rarely attested in the Hellenistic period, was observed.[16] We might therefore suppose that the effort of an educated writer to convey the subtleties of meaning or to express the desire for stylistic effect under

Historiam Lausiacam observationes quaedam", *Eranos* 30 (1932), 97-109. Cf. also D. Tabachowitz, *Études sur le grec de basse époque* (Uppsala, 1943). A. Cavallin, "(τὸ) λοιπόν. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung", *Eranos* 39 (1941), 121-144.

12 I. Manolessou, "On historical linguistics, linguistic variation and Medieval Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32/1 (2008), 63-79.

13 W. Clarysse, "Linguistic Diversity in the Archive of the Engineers Kleon and Theodoros", in T. V. Evans – D. D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 35-50.

14 Ibid., pp. 39-41.

15 R. Luiselli, "Authorial Revision of Linguistic Style in Greek Papyrus Letters and Petitions (AD i-iv)", in T. V. Evans – D. D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 88-94.

16 Wahlgren, *Sprachwandel im Griechisch*, pp. 117-118.

the influence of the Atticistic movement may also survive unchanged until the Byzantine period. Nevertheless, we do not know much about the variety and the frequency of particles in learned Byzantine Greek. So far, 10th century high-style historiographical texts (*The Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete*, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Polydeukes* and Genesius' *Regum libri quattuor*) have only been researched in Wahlgren's study.[17] His research raises again the question as to what extent the presence of Ancient (Attic) particles in learned Greek was felt as obligatory if the author had any stylistic ambition (regardless of whether the author was capable of using the particles 'correctly').

2. The Grammatical Category of Particles in the Byzantine Period

Starting the analysis of the practical use of particles in learned Byzantine Greek, we should begin with the theoretical background of the time. What was the status of particles in Byzantine grammatical treatises used by Byzantine scholars as teaching material? What commonly shared knowledge of the use of particles, arising from these grammar books, can then be assumed by Byzantine men of letters when composing learned texts? Looking for the grammatical status of the class of particles which today are recognized as a separate linguistic category, we see that Byzantine scholars more or less rigidly preserved the Ancient theory of conjunctions/particles, including Homeric particles, which to a common Byzantine speaker were not but a subject to learn. We find that particles were still incorporated in the eight Aristarchan word classes which had already been set by Dionysius Thrax, namely in the eighth word class of conjunctions (σύνδεσμοι).[18] This class was usually

[17] S. Wahlgren, "Particles in Byzantine Historical Texts", in A. Piltz et al. (eds.), *For particular reasons. Studies in honour of Jerker Blomqvist* (Lund, 2003), pp. 333-340.

[18] The term *μόριον*, which is nowadays used in Greek linguistic terminology to designate the category of particles, bore this connotation neither in Ancient nor in Byzantine Greek grammatical treatises, as their models were still the Ancient grammar books, especially the one by Dionysius Thrax. In Byzantine grammar books, we recognize two ways of usage of this word which are identical to Ancient times: first, it may indicate a part of a word (i.e. prefix, suffix or infix: cf. Th. Gaisford (ed.), *Georgii Choerobosci epimerismi in Psalmos*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1842), 3:132, 3: ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ, ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκῶ· τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ εὖ μόριον καὶ τὸ δοκῶ.). Second, it may indicate even a small indeclinable lexical item. In this sense, however, the word *μόριον* does not refer to the grammatical status of the lexical item – this is usually specified by an additional term, e.g. ἐγκλιτικὸν/ὑποτακτικὸν/ἀναφορικὸν μόριον (cf. D. Donnet (ed.), *Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου de Grégoire de Corinthe* (Brussels, 1967), 30, 181: Πολλάκις καὶ τὸ ὑποτακτικὸν μόριον τὸ

split into nine basic subclasses.[19] Most particles can be found in the subclass of 'linking' (συμπλεκτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι) and 'expletive' conjunctions (παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι).

In reference to particles, Dionysius Thrax's *Τέχνη* and Apollonius Dyscolus' treatise *Περὶ συνδέσμων* were crucial works which Byzantine grammar books were based on. Aelius Herodianus (2nd cent. AD), the son of Apollonius Dyscolus, and his main work *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* is not insignificant in this respect either. It is exactly the part of this treatise dedicated to disjunctive conjunctions what relevant paragraphs of Michael Syncellus' treatise *Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως* (1st half of the 9th cent.), the first representative of Byzantine works on syntax, are partly dependent on.[20]

In the case of conjunctions, Syncellus takes the concept of this word class over from his predecessors (especially Apollonius Dyscolus), thus declaring that the conjunctions connect phrases and clauses in accordance with exact grammatical rules and logical harmony of ideas (§ 186). Then he distinguishes nine basic subcategories of conjunctions, named according to the 'signification they manifest' (σημασία ἣν δηλοῦσιν; § 200).[21] The expletive conjunctions (παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι) are the

ἐάν καὶ τἄλλα, διίστανται τῶν οἰκείων ῥημάτων, οἷον...). Nevertheless, the term μόριον is no more attested in the same meaning as μέρος του λόγου, i.e. 'part of speech' as in the Ancient grammar books. The research has been made on the grammatical treatises published in TLG (covering the period from the 5th to the 15th century). For the Ancient period, see D. M. Schenkeveld, "From Particula to Particle – The Genesis of a Class of words", in I. Rosier (ed.), *L' héritage des grammairiens latins de l' antiquité aux lumières. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly, 2-4 septembre 1987* (Paris, 1988), pp. 82-83.

19 Dionysius Thrax distinguishes eight subclasses of particles; he nevertheless does not hold back the fact that some grammarians add the ninth subclass of adversative conjunctions (G. Uhlig (ed.), *Grammatici Graeci*, 1.1 (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 1, 1, 88.3-100.2). For a comprehensive analysis of the development of the category of particles in Ancient Greek and Latin grammatical tradition, see M. Baratin, *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome* (Paris, 1989) and his critique by I. Sluiter, "Review article of M. Baratin, La Naissance de la Syntaxe à Rome", *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994), 123-32.

20 Mich. Syncellus §§ 189-192 ~ Aelius Herodianus §§ 516, 28-520, 13. D. Donnet (ed.), *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem* (Brussels, 1982), p. 507.

21 Mich. Sync. *Περὶ ... συντάξεως* §§ 186-203: 1) συμπλεκτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: μέν, δέ, τε, καί, ἀλλά, ἠμέν, ἠδέ, ἰδέ, ἀτάρ, αὐτάρ, 2) διαζευκτικοί σύνδεσμοι: ἤ, ἠέ, ἤτοι, 3) συναπτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: εἰ, 4) παρασυναπτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι (in § 193 he recognizes this subclass, but he doesn't enumerate the conjunctions), 5) αἰτιολογικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: ἵνα, ὅπως, ὄφρα, γάρ, ἐάν, 6) συλλογιστικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: ἄρα, οὖν, 7) ἀπορηματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: ἆρα, μῶν, 8) παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: δή, που, τοι, περ, πω, μήν, αὖ, οὖν, γε, ἄν, ῥα, νυ, θην, ἀρ, κεν, 9) ἐναντιωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι: ὅμως. Donnet (ed.), *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem*, pp. 391-415.

only exception: their meaning is so varied that the name of this category is simply based on their function in the text, which is 'filling out the phrases' (παραπληροῦν τὰς φράσεις; § 200). I will comment on this function shortly.

In the 15th century, Michael Syncellus' treatise became the source of the fourth book of *Εἰσαγωγὴ γραμματική* by Theodorus Gaza (ca 1370-1475), which deals with syntax. Syncellus' influence is most obvious in the chapter dedicated to the eight parts of speech, including the chapter on conjunctions. Here, Theodorus takes over the attitudes of his model almost word for word.[22]

There is also a chapter on conjunctions in the grammatical treatise *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου* (mid-12th century) by Gregory of Corinth, also known as Pardos. Its content and style was adjusted to the didactic purpose of the book (readers are often addressed, many rules are in imperative: 160: ὅρα καὶ τοῦτο; 629: γράφομέν σοι; 620: τά ... παρόξυνε).[23] The chapter on conjunctions/particles is, however, extremely short, because the author considered this subject matter to be very well known and, in his opinion, even a beginner student would avoid barbarisms in this area. That was why he decided not to write about the conjunctions there and then and students were referred to the "complete grammar" (τελεία γραμματική) for more detailed explanation.[24] It is, however, not clear whether he could refer to the later version of his revised grammar book (two manuscripts from the 14th/15th and 15th/16th cent. are available[25] which also contain a detailed chapter on conjunctions; it refers mainly to scholia to Dionysius Thrax[26]). The expression τελεία γραμματική could at the same time be understood as a reference to respected authorities such as Dionysius Thrax or Michael Syncellus.[27]

[22] The chapter on conjunctions is, with both authors, full of quotes from Homer; the identity of these quotes in both of the grammar books and the order in which they appear is a good clue for disclosing parallels in both texts, which are further confirmed by other context. For more details, see D. Donnet, "Théodore de Gaza, Introduction à la grammaire, Livre IV: à la recherche des sources Byzantines", *Byzantion* 49 (1979), pp. 138ff.

[23] For the language and style analysis of the grammar book, see Donnet (ed.), *Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου*, p. 156.

[24] Greg. Pardos *Περὶ συντάξεως* § 109: Οἱ σύνδεσμοι εὔγνωστοί εἰσιν· ὁ μέν, δέ, τε, καί, καὶ οἱ λοιποί· καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀρτιμαθὴς βαρβαρίσει ἐν τούτοις. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ γράφομέν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν· τὴν μέντοι διαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ εἴδη τούτων ἐν τῇ τελείᾳ μάθῃς γραμματικῇ. Donnet (ed.), *Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου*, p. 229.

[25] Baroccianus gr. 57 (14th/15th cent.), Mutinensis gr. 58 (15th/16th cent.).

[26] A. Hilgard (ed.), "Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Commentarius sub auctore Melampode vel Diomede", in *Grammatici Graeci*, 1.3 (Leipzig, 1901, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 10-67.

[27] Donnet (ed.), *Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου*, pp. 129-130.

Maximus Planudes (1260 – approx. 1310), one of the most distinguished Byzantine linguists who is well-known today especially for his localist theory of case-meanings, mentions the category of conjunctions both in *Περὶ γραμματικῆς διάλογος* and in its appendix, a treatise on syntax. Its source was not only Apollonius Dyscolus, but also Priscian's (approx. 500 AD) *Institutiones grammaticae,* from which he sometimes translates whole passages almost word for word. However, unlike his predecessors, he does not at all look at conjunctions from the point of view of their categorization by "signification". On the contrary, he points out the possibility of conjunctions crossing from one subclass to another, depending on the surrounding context.[28] The context played such an important role for Planudes that he too claimed, being based almost word for word on Herodianus (or on Theodosius of Alexandria[29]) and indirectly also on Apollonius Dyscolus,[30] that conjunctions have no meaning *per se* and they only acquire it thanks to the context.[31] We did not find any other scholars mentioning these characteristics of conjunctions in the researched corpus of Byzantine grammarians in TLG (see footnote number 18).[32] It might be due to the fact that the hypothesis

[28] Plan. *Dial. de verb. construct.* 111, 12-27 (= L. Bachmann (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, 2. *Dialogus de verborum constructione* (Leipzig, 1828, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 105-166): Ὁμοίως κἀν τοῖς συνδέσμοις ὁ πέρ παραπληρωματικὸς ὤν, ὡς ἐν τῷ... Ἀλλαχοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων τοῦ λόγου μερῶν τῶν συναπτομένων αὐτῷ, ἐναντιωματικὸς εἶναι καταλαμβάνεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ, ... Καὶ ὁ ἤτοι, διαζευκτικὸς ὤν, ὡς ἐν τῷ, ...ἀλλαχοῦ συμπληρωτικὸς εὑρίσκεται, ἀντὶ τοῦ μέν λαμβανόμενος, ὡς ἐν τῷ, ... Καὶ ὁ μέν συμπλεκτικὸς ὤν, ὡς ἐν τῷ, ... ἀλλαχοῦ παραπληρωματικὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ μήν εὑρίσκεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ... Cf. Apoll. Dysc. *De construct.* 14, 4 (= Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, 2.2 (Leipzig, 1910, repr. Hildesheim 1965), pp. 1-497) and Prisc. *Institutiones* 3, 103ff. (= H. Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, 3, Leipzig, 1857-1874, repr. Hildesheim, 1961).

[29] For the discussion on the author, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 (Munich, 1978), p. 19.

[30] Apoll. Dysc. *De adv.* 133, 25 (= R. Schneider (ed.), *Grammatici Graeci*, 2.1 (Leipzig, 1878, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 119-210): Οἱ δὲ σύνδεσμοι οὔποτε κατ' ἰδίαν σημαίνουσί τι, συνδέουσι δὲ τοὺς λόγους...

[31] Plan. *Dial. de verb. construct.* 119, 4-8 (= Theod. Gramm. *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* 20, 11): ὁ σύνδεσμος ... μηδεμίαν δύναται καθ' ἑαυτὸν δηλῶσαι διάνοιαν δίχα τῆς τῶν προτεθεισῶν λέξεων ὕλης, ὃν τρόπον ἄχρηστοι καὶ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων εἰσὶ σύνδεσμοι, εἰ μὴ τὰ σώματα εἴη τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων συνδούμενα.

[32] Matthaeus Devarius (16th cent.), who is considered to be the pioneer of the modern categorization of particles (Schenkeveld, *From Particula to Particle*, p. 87) and in some respect also of the contemporary Relevance theory, retains the attitude of Planudes. Cf. R. Klotz (ed.), *Matthaei Devarii Liber de graecae linguae particulis I* (Leipzig, 1835), p. 5: *...quae tametsi rem ipsae per se nullam fere significant, tamen in aliarum vocum constructione positae vim aliquam habent, efficacitatemque sive emphasin, aut certe qualitatem aliam sermoni tribuunt.*

about the absence of the lexical meaning stood in direct contrast to the usual categorization of conjunctions, according to the semasiological criteria founded on the presence of the lexical meaning.

Planudes' note on the uselessness of expletive conjunctions[33] is relatively specific because other Byzantine scholars refer to Apollonius Dyscolus in this respect,[34] and actually also to the Ancient theory that these expressions are useful because they ensure the rhythmic structure of the text (μέτρον), its beauty (κόσμος) and its fluency (λειότης).[35] This theory, widespread in antiquity and Byzantium, stems from an Ancient interpretation of Dionysius Thrax. His statement that a "conjunction is a word which acts as a link for the meaning, giving it order, and fills up gaps in the expression"[36] was connected to the subclass of expletive conjunctions as early as antiquity because these were supposed to perform a very strong syndesmic function.[37] Expletive conjunctions were thus traditionally considered to be useful stylistic means of the written style which is used to ensure its euphony, i.e. ὅσοι μέτρου ἢ κόσμου ἕνεκεν αἰτίας παραλαμβάνονται.[38] This notion then also appeared in Renaissance grammar books (e.g. Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*). As far as expletive conjunctions are concerned, Planudes can therefore be considered an exception.

[33] Plan. *Dial. de verb. construct.* 107, 7-9: Ὁπότε καὶ οἱ παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι πάντες, μηδὲν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ συντελοῦντες, περιττῶς κεῖνται…

[34] Apoll. Dysc. *De conj.* 252, 25-33 (= Schneider, *Grammatici Graeci*, 2.1, pp. 213-258): Οἱ μέντοι παραπληρωματικοὶ σύνδεσμοι […] οὕτως γοῦν ἐπλεόναζον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πλείστους λαθεῖν τὸ δηλούμενον τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ πλεονασμὸς αὐτῶν χρειώδης ἄγαν. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀνὰ χεῖρα ὁμιλία καὶ αἱ συντάξεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ πᾶσα ποιητικὴ γραφὴ τρέπεται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐφωνίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὔχρηστα τὰ προκείμενα μόρια, …

[35] C. Dalimier, "Apollonios Dyscole sur la fonction des conjonctions explétives", *Revue des études grecques* 112 (1999), 719-730.

[36] A. Kemp, "The Tekhnē Grammatikē of Dionysius Thrax. Translated into English", *Historiographia Linguistica* 13: 2/3 (1986), p. 359. Cf. D. Th. 86, 3: Σύνδεσμός ἐστι λέξις συνδέουσα διάνοιαν μετὰ τάξεως καὶ τὸ τῆς ἑρμηνείας κεχηνὸς δηλοῦσα (v.l. πληροῦσα). For the Ancient and modern interpretation of this definition, see I. Sluiter, "Parapleromatic Lucubrations", in A. Rijksbaron (ed.), *New Approaches to Greek Particles*, pp. 237ff. Sluiter, "Review article of M. Baratin, La Naissance de la Syntaxe à Rome", pp. 124-125.

[37] Sluiter, "Parapleromatic Lucubrations", pp. 238ff.

[38] Georg. Choerbosc. *Epimerism.* 20, 6-7. Similarly Mich. Sync. *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως* 1722: … μέτρον παραπληροῦντες ἢ φράσιν κοσμοῦντες… Cf. also Apoll. Dysc. *De conj.* 252, 25-33.

3. Particles in Learned Byzantine Greek – the Case of Blemmydes' Basilikos Andrias

In the late Byzantine period, high-style Greek historiographical works *par excellence* appeared, i.e. Anna Komnene's *Alexias*, Nicetas Choniates' *History* and the rhetorical essay *Basilikos Andrias* by Nikephoros Blemmydes. All of these are characterized by exceptional rhetorical and literary artifice and with all of them we also dispose of the 'rewritings' into a simpler language register which we usually label as the 'Schrift-Koine' of the period. John Davis's recent study[39] proved that all the three metaphrases are probably very close to one another, regarding the period in which they were written, i.e. the beginning of the 14th century.[40] They can thus be of great help to us when we analyze the particles in the originals because it is possible to observe and to compare the ways the particles are treated in both texts.

For the purpose of this paper, I analyzed the usage of particles in Blemmydes' *Basilikos Andrias* and its metaphrase.[41] Only the passages which were analogical in both form and content were compared so that the particles they contain would have the same preceding and following contexts. For the purposes of describing particles in Blemmydes' *Basilikos Andrias*, Denniston's traditional categorization of particles was abandoned because there were too many problems emerging from it. To mention at least the most apparent ones, it is difficult to draw the borderline between connecting particles and the word class of conjunctions which also function as connectors. Moreover, any clear-cut differentiation between various subtypes and subclasses of particles is very difficult because many of them fluctuate, with regard to their function, from one

[39] J. Davis, "Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates 'translated': the fourteenth-century Byzantine metaphrases", in R. Macrides (ed.), *History as literature in Byzantium: papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007* (Farnham [et al.], 2010), pp. 55-72.

[40] That is why the author, with regard to their very similar way of simplification of the originals and a similar linguistic level, raised the presumption that they were created together for Prince John V Palaiologos. It seems that all the three metaphrases could have been written by the same authors or as a part of a common translation project. They were probably supposed to serve as a certain kind of instructional texts which the heir to the throne had to become acquainted with. Ibid.

[41] H. Hunger – I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes: Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine* (Vienna, 1986).

subcategory to another. That is why some scholars have recently suggested the elimination of the entire category of particles.[42]

Recent studies on particles which are functionally oriented and use a pragmatic approach seem to be more successful in determining the category of particles. From the pragmatic perspective, particles relate, according to the speaker's intention, the message to the context so that the content of the message could be stated more precisely (e.g. affirmed, intensified or restricted).[43] These may be called 'commentary pragmatic markers' (CPM). Particles can also indicate different mutual relationships between a discourse segment (proposition/sentence/utterance) which they are a part of and the previous segment, thus marking their coherence. These can be classified within the 'discourse markers' (DM) category. Further, they are roughly divided into elaborative, contrastive and inferential discourse markers.[44] Now I will comment on some of the particles used by Blemmydes in *Basilikos Andrias*.

3.1. δή

Blemmydes, using the marker δή, preserves the formal broadness of its usage in the Classical period where it usually functioned as a CPM, attracting "special attention for the (interesting or important) proposition presented by the speaker".[45] Taking into consideration the attitudinal and speaker-addressee interactive use of δή, it is not surprising that, in the Classical period, this marker was most frequent in dialogical passages of tragedies/comedies and in Plato. It was usually placed as the second

[42] A. R. Puigdollers, "Word classes, functions and syntactic level: the case of *pálin*", in E. Crespo et al. (eds.), *Word classes and related topics in Ancient Greek. Proceedings of the conference on 'Greek syntax and word classes' held in Madrid on 18-21, June 2003* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 2006), p. 468.

[43] E. Coseriu, "Partikel und Sprachtypus", in J. Albrecht (ed.), *Energeia und Ergon. Sprachliche Variation – Sprachgeschichte – Sprachtypologie. I. Studia in honorem Eugenio Coseriu* (Tübingen, 1988), p. 190.

[44] Elaborative discourse markers signal an expansion of the previous discourse segment in another item (it is interpreted as its enrichment, elaboration or augmentation). Contrastive discourse markers signal a contrast between contents of relative discourse segments. Inferential markers are interpreted as those indicating a conclusion resulting from the facts stated in the previous discourse segment (or providing a reason for the content of the previous discourse segment). B. Fraser, "What are discourse markers?", *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (1999), 931-952.

[45] G. Wakker, "Emphasis and affirmation. Some aspects of μήν in tragedy", in *New Approaches to Greek Particles*, p. 216. Nevertheless, consensus about the basic function of δή in the narrative has not been reached yet, cf. Sicking's interpretation of δή as of the "evidential particle" in Sicking – Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, pp. 51-53.

word of a sentence, marking the immediately preceding word (mostly verbs of seeing and appearing, personal pronouns, deictic pronouns or adverbs, interrogative pronouns or adjectives, adjectives expressing quantity or quality, or temporal/local adverbs). From this use as a CPM it further developed into an elaborative DM, i.e. its use is not confined to the sentence or clause in which it occurs, but it can be used in a sentence marking a "repetition or recapitulation of earlier information",[46] thus connecting it to the previous context. It usually accompanies a demonstrative pronoun or some other deictic expression.[47]

In Blemmydes, δή naturally lacks its true interactive speaker-addressee function, but formally it fully fits the classical pattern of a CPM: it follows a demonstrative pronoun standing in apposition to the preceding substantival phrase (e.g. 1, 3; 20, 3: τούτῳ δή), the pronominal adverb οὕτω (οὕτω δή) or an adjective expressing intensity (τοσοῦτον δή). In one case it occurs in combination with the negative οὐ (162, 3: οὐ δή τι παρέκλινε) which was not very frequent even in the Classical period.[48] Other cases are combinations with a verb (λέγω δή, ἔστι δή) or a conjunction (ὅτε δή, καὶ δή).

The metaphrasts' behaviour as to δή with Blemmydes is relatively easy to trace: the passages from Blemmydes which contained this marker were in most cases either reformulated or altogether omitted. There is no apparent different lexical way of replacing this marker. This would suggest that the metaphrasts did not perceive δή as παραπληρωματικὸς σύνδεσμος necessary for building up the narrative, but rather as an optional stylistic tool. On the other hand, δή is twice replaced with an elaborative DM δέ, which, subsequently, does not fully exclude the interpretation of δή as an elaborative DM opening a new narrative section (comp. Blemm. 67, 1: Ἔστι **δὴ** καὶ ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἔρως ἀπρεπής...; Metaphr. 67, 1: ἔστι **δὲ** καὶ ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἔρως ἀπρεπής...).

It would also be impossible to accuse the authors of the metaphrase of not knowing the 'correct' usage of this particle, as the remaining

[46] Sicking – Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, p. 85.

[47] The summarizing function concerning the information mentioned earlier is many times hardly distinguishable from the function of a CPM, which leads some scholars (Sicking – Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, p. 143, p. 147) to rejecting not only its function of an elaborative DM, but also that of an inferential marker expressing logical connection between two expressed ideas ('therefore'). Nevertheless, these functions are acknowledged e.g. by Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 236-240 or R. Kühner – B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II: Satzlehre* (Hannover, 1955, 4th ed.), II. 124.

[48] Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 222.

five cases which do not correspond to Blemmydes' original show their own initiative. They use δή after ἀλλά, ὅ and ὅτι (e.g. Metaphr. 89, 1: μῦθός ἐστι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι **δὴ** μῆλα χρυσᾶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀφελόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ Ἄτλαντος Ἑσπερίδων) and once after οὕτω (Metaphr. 214, 1: οὕτω **δὴ** καὶ ψεῦδος κατασκευασθὲν μετὰ μηχανῆς συγχέει τὸν λογισμόν; Blemm. 214, 1: **οὕτω** καὶ ψεῦδος ἐπισκευασθὲν δύναται παραπεῖσαι τὸν λογισμόν).

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemmydes ~ Metaphrase
δή	**20**	**12**	
demonstrative/indefinite/ relative pronoun + δή	5	1	
adjective expressing intensity + δή	1	1	
pronominal adverb οὕτω + δή	3	1	**δή ~ δέ**
negative οὐ + δή	1		
verb + δή	3	1	**δή ~ δέ**
ὅτε δή	1		
καὶ δή	1		
ὅτι δή		1	
ἀλλὰ δή		2	
ἐπειδή	5	5	

3.2. τοίνυν

The standard function of this elaborative/inferential DM during the Classical period is very similar to οὖν, i.e. by the *νυν* the speaker marks a new section of the narrative or a logical conclusion. The τοι, however, gives a special nuance to this marker which differentiates it from οὖν: it marks that the speaker says something which is important for the addressee and should be noticed.[49] The extremely low occurrence of the particle τοίνυν in Blemmydes (five instances) may have been caused by two facts: on the one hand, by the fact that as early as the Classical period, this particle occurred more frequently in dialogues (probably because of the addressee-oriented τοι component) than in narrative (and even there

[49] G. Wakker, "'Well I will now present my arguments'. Discourse cohesion marked by οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias", in *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, pp. 63-81.

it was less frequent than *οὖν*);[50] on the other hand, by the fact that it was not one of the most frequent particles even in the Classical period itself, and in Byzantine Greek it already seemed to be a rather unusual word which might demonstrate an enlarged stylistic ambition of the author.[51] The low occurrence of this particle with Anna Komnene (127 instances) and with Choniates (223 instances) might speak in favour of this theory. There are more than a hundred instances here, but, compared to Blemmydes (8 000 words), the range of the other two works is much larger (approximately 150,000-160,000 words each), so the percentage representation is in fact similar to Blemmydes (approximately 0,1% with Blemmydes and Anna Komnene, 1,5% with Choniates).

In contrast, the metaphrasts used the particle *τοίνυν* depending directly on the original only twice (Metaphr. 151, 1; 201, 1) while four times it was incorporated into the text by them (Metaphr. 7, 1; 8, 1; 47, 1; 148, 2). Both texts use it as an elaborative or an inferential marker introducing a logical conclusion. Compared to Blemmydes, when the metaphrasts substitute *τοίνυν* functioning as an inferential DM by a different expression, then to them it is identical with the expression *διὰ τοῦτο* (Blemm. 99, 1: *πορρωτάτω τοίνυν ἐξοριστέον* vs. Metaphr. 99, 1: *διὰ τοῦτο πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐξορίζειν*), and when functioning as an elaborative DM, it is replaced by mere *δέ* (Blemm. 50, 1: *ὁ τοίνυν λαοὺς προβεβλημένος κοσμεῖν ὡς στρατηγὸς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι* vs. Metaphr. 50, 1: *ὁ δὲ προτιμηθεὶς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν λαοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμοις ὁ στρατηγός*). Also, the metaphrasts used *τοίνυν* three times where Blemmydes used *οὖν* as an inferential DM (e.g. Blemm. 148, 1: *σπευστέον οὖν τὸν 'εὔθετον' ἁρπάζειν ἀπηντηκότα 'καιρόν'* vs. Metaphr. 148, 2: *ἐπιμελητέον τοίνυν ἁρπάζειν τὸν ἁρμοδιώτατον ἐλθόντα καιρόν*).

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemmydes ~ Metaphrase
τοίνυν	**5**	**6**	**τοίνυν ~ διὰ τοῦτο, δέ** **οὖν ~ τοίνυν**

3.3. *μέντοι, τοι, γοῦν, τοιγαροῦν*

Other extremely rare particles in Blemmydes are *μέντοι* and *τοι*, each with four instances. *Μέντοι* was a very common contrastive DM in historiography, philosophy and with orators in the Classical and the

[50] Cf. Y. Duhoux, "Grec écrit et grec parlé: une étude contrastive des particules aux Ve-IVe siècles", in *New Approaches to Greek Particles*, pp. 21-31.

[51] Wahlgren, *Particles in Byzantine Historical Texts*, p. 336.

Hellenistic periods.[52] It was used to deny or to modify the potentially false expectation on the part of the reader which had been raised in the previous discourse ('nevertheless', 'however').[53] As a CPM, it is usually interpreted as an emphasizing or an affirmative expression ('certainly') which is often associated with pronouns.[54]

With Blemmydes, μέντοι is contrastive in all the cases and twice it even occurs in juxtaposition with γε (Blemm. 134, 3; 176, 1), which was not a very common combination even in the Classical period.[55] The metaphrasts avoided this particle altogether and in relevant passages it was substituted by expressions with a stronger or a weaker adversative tone (πλήν, ὅμως, μήν and δέ).

Τοι as a CPM, appearing especially in dialogues and implying a real or an imagined audience (the speaker desires to attract the addressee's attention: 'I tell you', 'you know'), is rare in Blemmydes: it appears twice in secondary clauses[56] and, in one case, Blemmydes even takes it over from Hesiod (Blemm. 132, 5: μελέτη δέ τοι*; Opera et dies* 412). The τοι marker was replaced twice by the particle γοῦν in the metaphrase, but to the metaphrasts it did not seem to be identical with τοι when considering the use of γοῦν in the whole metaphrase. The metaphrasts apparently regarded the particle γοῦν a welcome substitute for γάρ and τοιγαροῦν which is a strongly inferential DM (it approximates in force to διὰ ταῦτα or δι' ὅ), whereas with Blemmydes there are no instances of γοῦν at all. It seems that γοῦν was a favorite inferential DM of the metaphrasts, used independently of the original if the context enabled it (as with τοι or γε), even though it was an exclusively Attic Greek particle whose inferential function was documented only sporadically in the Classical period.[57]

52 Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 27. More than 90% of all μέντοι were adversative in Blomqvist's material.

53 S. R. Slings, "Adversative relators between PUSH and POP", in *New Approaches to Greek Particles*, pp. 114-122.

54 C. M. J. Sicking argues that this function of μέντοι is misinterpreted and that in these cases we are also dealing with the general function of μέντοι, which "corrects possible misconceptions". Sicking and Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, pp. 34-35.

55 Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 405. Cf. also the reappearance of the particle γε (and its combination μέντοι γε) during the early Byzantine period as observed by Willy Clarysse (cf. page 150).

56 Cf. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 546 for the rare use of the combination ἐπεί τοι γε and εἰ δέ τοι in Classical period.

57 Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 455-458 discusses its possible inferential or elaborative force in Hippocrates and Post-Classical Greek.

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemmydes ~ Metaphrase
μέντοι	4	0	**μέντοι ~ ὅμως, μήν, δέ, πλήν**
μέντοι γε	2		
τοι	4	0	**τοι (~ γοῦν)**
(ἐπεί) τοι γε	1		
(εἰ) δέ τοι	2 (1x Hes.)		
γοῦν	0	6	**γάρ, (γε) ~ γοῦν**
τοιγαροῦν	3	1	**τοιγαροῦν ~ γοῦν**

3.4. γε μήν, μήν, γε, δῆτα, ἀμέλει

Another extremely rare combination of particles which, in the Classical period, was practically limited to Xenophon and Plato is γε μήν. Nevertheless, it became very frequent in the literary prose of the imperial age which can be ascribed again to the influence of Atticists and to the imitation of Classical patterns.[58] It usually functions as an elaborative DM, introducing a new step in the narrative. A special use of this elaborative γε μήν is present exclusively in Xenophon where it expresses (similarly with δέ) a certain discontinuity in the text (topic break).[59] Blemmydes used it exactly in this function as frequently as in five instances[60] while the metaphrasts replaced it by the particle δέ (γε), although in one case they used this combination themselves as a substitute for δέ γε in Blemmydes (Metaphr. 43, 1).

With Blemmydes, except for simple γε, especially the combination of δέ γε is used which was probably felt as a colloquial combination in Attic, common especially in dialogues in drama, but much rarer in prose.[61] With Blemmydes, this combination was used by a topic break instead of simple δέ (four times even with preceding 'balancing' μέν). In principle, the metaphrasts omitted or replaced the CPM γε, so the proportion of its

[58] Cf. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 347-350; Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, pp. 68-71.

[59] Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 34. According to Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 69, this function of γε μήν combination is also attested in Hellenistic prose.

[60] In a much longer text (*Χρονικὴ διήγησις*), Nicetas Choniates has fourteen instances, Anna Komnene has only one instance in *Alexias*.

[61] It was omitted e.g. by Isocrates as an expression which presumably did not fit into his style well. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 152-156.

occurrence with Blemmydes and in the metaphrase is 27:9 instances. The metaphrasts formed a word-for-word transcription of the original (three times), replaced the combination δέ γε by simple δέ (five times) and used γε twice in the adversative combination of καίτοι γε ('yet, although').[62]

The particle μήν is another low-frequent one in Blemmydes. In Classical prose, its non-combinatory use was confined to Xenophon, Plato and Hippocrates, and during the Hellenistic period it disappeared from narrative texts altogether. Its reappearance in later Greek is to be ascribed to the Atticistic influence again.[63] Blemmydes only used it in combination (apart from the mentioned combination γε μήν there is twice ἦ μήν and once οὐ μήν; both these combinations, having a purely elaborative force, are rare in Classical prose) as an elaborative DM which did not entirely lose its attitudinal force of a CPM.[64] The metaphrasts also added the affirmative usage of καὶ μήν, confirming the truth of the presented statement in dialogues, and the combination οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά (καί) 'but also'.[65]

With Blemmydes, the usage of the CPM δῆτα is also very rare: there are only three instances. In Classical prose, it was common in Plato and in drama and it was most frequently used in dialogues, especially in affirmative or negative answers when accentuating a usually expected agreement or denial. Its use in continuous speech was much rarer. Unfortunately, we have no statistical data from the Hellenistic or later periods. With Blemmydes, it once appears in a direct question following an interrogative pronoun (Blemm. 54, 2 τί δῆτα)[66] and twice in continuous speech (Blemm. 100, 4: οὐ δῆτα; 104, 3: ἀγάλλεται δῆτα καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν), while the metaphrasts reformulated these passages altogether. Considering its absence from Nicetas Choniates's Historia and the extremely rare use in Anna Komnene (12 instances in Alexias), it would seem that Blemmydes again used the particle as a special stylistic tool.

[62] The combination καίτοι γε was more usual in the Hellenistic than in the Classical period. For the discussion about the reasons of this phenomenon, see Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, pp. 43-45.

[63] Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 50.

[64] Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 338; p. 341. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 50-52.

[65] This combination belongs mainly to the later Hellenistic period. There are about a dozen examples of οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά in Septuaginta and one papyrus example (Pzen, Col. II 121, 3; 181 BC). The combination has an elaborative function. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 60.

[66] The consensus about the function of δῆτα following an interrogative pronoun has not yet been reached. Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, II. 133 assume that it accentuates the interrogative pronoun itself, while Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 269 argues in favour of its "logical connective force", thus marking an inference arisen from the previous context ('then'). Further research is necessary to be able to decide about the interpretation.

One instance of the CPM ἀμέλει (Blemm. 189, 1) which in Classical prose and comedy (Xen., Pl., Aristoph.) appeared in statements where it confirmed their self-evidence or veracity, may be considered exclusive. In the Hellenistic period, when ἀμέλει was extremely rare,[67] several examples are found again in Philo and Strabo.[68] As far as Blemmydes' text is concerned, the metaphrasts used the expression διὰ τοῦτο instead of ἀμέλει, which might suggest either the next step in its usage ('surely', 'indeed' > 'and indeed', 'and so' > 'thus', 'therefore') which we have no relevant data for, or its possible misinterpretation by the metaphrasts.

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemmydes ~ Metaphrase
γε	**27**	**9**	
γε μήν	5	1	**γε μήν ~ δέ (γε)** **δέ (γε) ~ γε μήν**
δέ γε	9	4	**δέ γε ~ δέ** **δέ ~ δέ γε** **δέ γε ~ πλήν**
καίτοι γε		2	
μέντοι γε	2		**μέντοι γε ~ δέ, ὅμως**
(ἐπεί) τοι γε	1		
μήν	**8**	**6**	
ἦ μήν	2		
οὐ μήν	1	1	
καὶ μήν		2	
οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά (καί)		2	
γε μήν	5	1	
δῆτα	**3**	**0**	
ἀμέλει	**1**	**0**	**ἀμέλει ~ διὰ τοῦτο**

[67] Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, p. 103 argues that it was only used by writers who kept a distance from vulgar usage, but on the other hand did not share the literary ambitions of historians.

[68] Wahlgren, *Particles in Byzantine Historical Texts*, p. 93.

3.5. γάρ, ἄρα, οὖν

The category of the inferential DMs is represented here, above all, by the particle γάρ while the second most frequent particle is οὖν. In the Classical period, οὖν had its place both in the category of elaborative DMs and in the category of inferential DMs (the second occurrence was much more frequent in Classical texts).[69] With both Blemmydes and the metaphrasts, it was also more frequently used as an inferential DM. The particle ἄρα is quite rare (as well as the particles τοιγαροῦν and τοίνυν which had been discussed above). This particle was, even in Classical prose, still perceived as colloquial and less formal than οὖν, and for this reason it did not frequently occur in narrative texts but rather in dialogues.[70] It is possible that this usage was preserved until the Byzantine period, because at that time it was not one of the most frequent particles of the learned prose either (compare also Anna Komnene's 939 instances of γάρ, 437 instances of οὖν and only 61 instances of ἄρα; similarly in Choniates' History, there are only 11 instances of ἄρα, but 359 instances of οὖν and 726 instances of γάρ).

The occurrence of the expression λοιπόν functioning as an inferential DM is also interesting with Blemmydes (Blemm. 10, 3: χρὴ λοιπόν; 219, 1: καὶ οὕτω λοιπόν). The expression (τὸ) λοιπόν is attested as an inferential DM ('so') as early as the Classical period (Plato) and the extensive use of the adjectival/adverbial λοιπόν in transitional phrases led to its use as an elaborative DM ('then'). In the Hellenistic period, Blomqvist[71] recognizes only a few instances of λοιπόν. It became much more frequent again in vernacular texts during the Byzantine period and survived into Modern Greek. This particle was not fully avoided even by Anna Komnene who used it especially in direct speech while imitating live dialogues.

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemm. ~ Metaphr.
γάρ	**68**	**89**	**γάρ ~ ἐπειδή**
καὶ γάρ/ καί ... γάρ	2	7	
μὲν γάρ/ μὲν γάρ ... δέ	10	11	

[69] Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 425.

[70] Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, p. 41.

[71] Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, pp. 100-103.

οὖν	**18**	**10**	**οὖν ~ τοίνυν, γάρ**
μὲν οὖν/ μὲν οὖν … δέ (οὖν)	10	5	
ἄρα	**3**	**1**	
λοιπόν	**2**	**1**	**λοιπόν ~ consecutive clause (ὥστε)**

The following chart, summarizing even the frequency of the particles which have not been discussed in this paper in detail, leads to the conclusion that the variety of particles in both texts is the following: with Blemmydes, the most frequent is the elaborative (or commentary pragmatic)[72] marker *καί*, followed by δέ, the inferential marker *γάρ* and the contrastive discourse marker *ἀλλά*. In absolute numbers, their number in the metaphrase is even bigger, which was caused, above all, by changing the original at the expense of the asyndeton. Blemmydes then clearly predominates with commentary pragmatic markers, concerning both their frequency and their variety, especially with δή, γε, μήν, δῆτα, τοι etc. The metaphrasts either altogether omitted those (τοι, μέντοι, ἀμέλει, δῆτα) or they used them much less frequently than the original (δή, γε). However, neither Blemmydes nor the metaphrasts distinguished subtle nuances between the particles which, in Classical Greek, served as an indispensable means for the text build-up and its correct understanding, e.g. they considered *τοίνυν* and οὖν to be synonyms, whereas in Classical Greek these particles had slightly different semantic values and could not be used in any context (see chapter 3.2.).

Furthermore, it is not possible to claim that the metaphrase lacks Attic particles or their combinations. Quite unexpectedly, it competes with Blemmydes as to the expressions *καίτοι γε* or *γοῦν*. It is obvious that the metaphrasts understood the role of the particles in the text well; if they directly substituted Blemmydes' particle in the corresponding text, the equivalent was chosen carefully in order to preserve the original meaning of the narrative (except for the substitution of τοι by *γοῦν* in one case and the unclear use of the expression διὰ *τοῦτο* in the place of ἀμέλει). We might also assume that the incorporation of the particles which the metaphrasts considered to be of stylistically high-quality speaks in favour of the theory proposed by

[72] For the purpose of this paper, the number of *καί* functioning as a CPM was not counted, so its frequency includes both the *καί* focusing on a constituent (CPM) and the elaborative *καί*.

John Davis (see the footnote nr. 40), i.e. that the metaphrase was created for Prince John V Palaiologos and it was supposed to keep a certain stylistic and rhetorical value, even though it was rewritten in a simpler morphological and syntactical structure. The greatest formal lapse in the metaphrase is possibly one usage of *τοίνυν* as the first word in a sentence (Metaph. 8, 1), which was not tolerable in the Classical period. On the whole, the metaphrase, from the point of view of the usage of particles, is on a surprisingly high level, since it is a text whose lexical, morphological and syntactical structure is quite simple and corresponds to the 'Schrift-Koine'.

Blemmydes' usage of particles is on a very high level as he preserves their original functions known from the Classical period, e.g. one cannot observe nivelization of the pragmatic function with expressions such as *οὖν* or *γάρ* (it was illustrated in early Byzantine prose that these were used as simple elaborative discourse markers)[73]. In spite of this, the variety of particles does not achieve the level of variety of the Classical period and Blemmydes' basic corpus of frequent particles is essentially quite poor. A large number of Attic particles were only used several times and they presumably appear to have been incorporated into the text as deliberate stylistic 'decorations' according to the Atticistic fashion of the time. There is also an evident tendency to use especially commentary pragmatic markers in fixed combinations.

A more precise analysis of other learned texts would probably provide us with an interesting comparison to Blemmydes' text, which is another challenge we might face in the future.

	Blemm.	Metaph.	Blemm. ~ Metaph.
πλήν	**4**	**3**	**δέ γε ~ πλήν**
πλὴν ἀλλά	3		**πλὴν ἀλλά ~ δέ, ὅμως**
ἀλλά	**28**	**46**	
οὐ/μὴ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί	2	7	
πλὴν ἀλλά	3		
οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά (καί)		2	
ἀλλὰ δή		2	

73 K. Loudová, "Discourse Markers in Early Byzantine Narrative Prose", in *Proceedings of the 29th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. 10-11 May 2008, Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2009), pp. 302-304.

καίτοι	**0**	**2**	
καίτοι γε		2	
περ	**19**	**30**	
ἐπείπερ ὥσπερ εἴπερ ὅσπερ (οἵπερ, ἅπερ, ὅπερ)	2 13 3 1	 24 3 3	
δέ	**172**	**203**	
μέν … δέ μὲν γάρ … δέ (γε) μὲν οὖν … δέ οὐδέ μηδέ	33 9 6 12 5	47 10 4 19 2	
μέν	**56**	**63**	
μέν … δέ μὲν γάρ … δέ (γε) μὲν οὖν … δέ μὲν οὖν μὲν γάρ (καὶ) μέν	33 9 6 4 1 3	47 10 4 1 1	
αὖ	**1**	**0**	**αὖ ~ δέ**
τε	**51**	**56**	
τε καί	22	40	
καί	**613**	**888**	
τε καί	22	40	
ἀλλὰ καί	2	2	
οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλά (καί)		2	
οὐ/μὴ μόνον … ἀλλὰ καί	2	7	

Summary

This paper focuses both on the formal status of the category of particles in Byzantium and their practical usage in learned Greek of the Byzantine period. First, the current state of the research in this field is summarized. Second, the main characteristics of the category of particles in preserved Byzantine grammatical treatises and their categorization within the word class system are outlined. Finally, a detailed analysis of the particle usage in Nikephoros Blemmydes' rhetorical essay *Basilikos Andrias* and its metaphrase from the beginning of the 14th century is provided as an example of the particle usage in learned prose of late Byzantium.

STAFFAN WAHLGREN

CASE, STYLE AND COMPETENCE IN BYZANTINE GREEK

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate some tendencies in the use of the dative case in Byzantine literary texts and to discuss how these shed light on stylistic ambition as well as linguistic competence. The reason why we will focus on the dative is its decrease and death (in the vernacular) somewhere on the long road from Classical to Modern Greek: it is therefore likely that Byzantines had to struggle with the dative, in the sense that they had to work hard in order to learn how to use it, and that those engaging in literary activity developed a conscious attitude towards it. The way they handled its morphology and syntax is likely to reveal their linguistic competence and taste.[1]

In our investigation, we will use very simple stylometric methods, by which occurrences of formal elements are counted and authors are compared to each other while only a minimum of semantic and functional analysis is carried out. It goes without saying that this method has its limitations, and there is a certain danger that our explanations are too simplistic (see further n. 3 about this). At the same time, it has a distinct advantage: it can be used to compile large sets of data without too much of an effort. To be able to compile data in such a way, will be essential for any undertaking aiming at a comprehensive description of Byzantine Greek.

Below, I will make the following claims:

1. That there is a significant increase in the tendency to use the dative in Byzantine literary texts as compared to ancient texts.

[1] There is a considerable literature on the dative, mostly, however, concerned with the development of Modern Greek and therefore with the process of its disappearance in the vernacular. See J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec (du Ier au Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1930), G. C. Horrocks, *Greek: a History of the Language and its Speakers* (London, 1997), esp. pp. 57-59, and D. Holton – I. Manolessou, "Medieval and Early Modern Greek", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, (Chichester, 2010), pp. 539-63, esp. pp. 546-47. For the Byzantine literary language in general and further bibliography, see St. Wahlgren, "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", in Bakker (ed.), *A Companion*, pp. 527-38.

2. That this increase is not at all restricted to high level texts but observable also in other kinds of texts (and probably more widespread than we suppose).
3. That the fact that the dative is so common, indeed productive, also in texts at a modest linguistic level, should encourage us to include such texts in any investigation of formal Greek.

A comparison between classical texts and Byzantine literary texts seems almost always to point to an increase in the frequency of the dative. This is especially obvious when Paleologan texts of a certain degree of sophistication are included: in these, approximately 1 word in 10 is a dative form. In classical historians and orators, the proportion seems to be far less than 1 dative form in 25 words. However, also in Byzantine texts of a much lower degree of sophistication, there are actually more dative forms per text unit than in classical texts. All this can be illustrated by the following table, which includes classical texts as well as some texts from the 10th and 14th centuries:[2]

The dative case in classical and Byzantine texts	*Total number of forms in samples of 2000 words*
Xen., *Anab.*	73
Isocrates, *Paneg.*	70
Sym. Log., *Chron.*	90
Gen., *Reg. libri*	129
Const. VII., *Cerim.*	101
Theod. Met., *Misc.*	193
Matth. Eph., *Ep.*	206

[2] Part of this table has been taken from St. Wahlgren, "Modern Greek in the 10th c. AD", in V. Sabatakakis – P. Vejleskov (eds.), *Filia: Studies in Honour of Bo-Lennart Eklund* (Lund, 2005), pp. 177-82, where I discussed text samples from Symeon the Logothete's *Chronicle* (chapter 133, §§ 1-27 [ed. St. Wahlgren, Berlin – New York, 2006]), Genesius' *Regum libri* (proem and chapters 1-13 [ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner- I. Thurn, Berlin – New York, 1978]), and Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De cerimoniis* (tome 1, pp. 1-10, l. 9 [ed. A. Vogt, Paris, 1935]), which I compared to samples of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (Book 1, chapters 1.1-3.4) and Isocrates' *Panegyricus* (§§ 1-40). For this article I have added information on Theodorus Metochites' *Miscellanea* (Essay 61, chapter 1.1-3.1, from my forthcoming edition) and on the *Letters* of Matthew of Ephesus (Letters 1-5, pp. 81-89 [ed. D. Reinsch, Berlin, 1974]).

How do we interpret these figures, and what does the increase in the use of the dative mean?[3] The fact that the dative gains in presence and becomes a more conspicuous feature, and the fact that everyone uses it so often, could make us suppose that the dative as such does not stand out as a stylistic marker. Yet, I would like to point to two signs of the opposite here and suggest that the dative actually can be a marker, or appear as a sign of ambition. First of all, there is, within the corpus of 10th c. texts, an especially high frequency of the dative in the proem of the *De cerimoniis* (as compared to the rest of the text) and in Genesius, a text with a relatively high stylistic ambition.[4] Secondly, the dative is very common in Metochites and Matthew, both stylistically most ambitious authors. The very fact that they display such a remarkable tendency to employ the dative, could be seen as an argument of its stylistic potential.

Let us take a closer look at the evidence. We will start with breaking down the examples of the dative taken from Metochites by their meaning:

The use of the dative in Theodorus Metochites' Miscellanea*: occurrences in a sample of 2000 words*

Adverbs with a dative ending, e.g. *παντάπασι, πάντῃ*	15
Human agent	3
Instrumental dative	41
Other cases of pure dative (ad hoc-adverbs: causal, limitative and other uses)	8
With preposition	22 (ἐν: 15; ἐπί: 4; παρά: 2; σύν: 1)
With verbs, adjectives or substantives (δίδωμι, πείθομαι (and πιστός), verbs with ἐμ-, προσ- and συν-, etc.)	103
Possessive dative	1

[3] We will suppose here that the increase is not only the secondary consequence of some other, unknown process; however, it should not be denied that it would be interesting to know, how other case forms fare, and also whether the observed increase of the dative is combined with some other linguistic shift, such as a tendency towards a greater emphasis on nominal expressions, including participles (i.e. words to which a dative ending can be added).

[4] See for this Wahlgren, "Modern Greek in the 10th c. AD".

It should be stressed that this categorization is approximate: it could be made in greater detail, and it may also be open to discussion sometimes: it is especially difficult to label some of the pure datives, which may conceal semantic nuances which we do not fathom.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that there is a tendency to employ the dative in a wide variety of meanings and even when classical authors would not, even if it is not quite sure that they could not, do so. Let us have a look at some examples, in order to illustrate the difference from the classical language: classical (Attic) authors almost always restrict the dative of human agent to the combination with the perfect (τὰ τούτῳ εἰρημένα), whereas Metochites also uses this kind of dative with other verb forms, as e.g. in 61.2.4 λεγομένων ἑκάστοις ("what is said by each"). Further, classical authors would use the phrase ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ (or ὁ ἑαυτοῦ βίος) to render English "his life", whereas Metochites writes ὁ αὐτῷ βίος. Last but not least, Metochites is fairly fond of a loose adverbial dative, which can be interpreted as causal, limitative or otherwise adverbial (in the table above, I refer to these as ad hoc-adverbs; thus, his equivalent to "in truth" is ταῖς ἀληθείαις), whereas the classical authors, if at all in favour of a pure case solution, (mostly) choose the accusative.

Further, how does Metochites compare to Matthew, his contemporary? The same kind of categorization for Matthew of Ephesus looks as follows:

The use of the dative in Matthew's Letters*: occurrences in a sample of 2000 words*

Adverbs with a dative ending, e.g. σχολῇ, τῷ ὄντι	8
Human agent	4
Instrumental dative	32
Other cases of pure dative (ad hoc-adverbs; dativus ethicus)	9
With preposition	16 (ἐν: 1; ἐπί: 6; παρά: 5; πρός: 2; ὑπό: 2)
With verbs, adjectives or substantives (πολεμέω, συμβαίνει, προσεχής, λαμπρός, χάρις, etc.)	132
Possessive dative	2
Adjectives in -τέον (ποιητέον, (δειλ)ανδριστέον)	3

Here, too, it is necessary to stress that the categorization may be open to discussion in its details. However, there can be little doubt that there are great similarities with Metochites, and that there is a development common to Metochites and Matthew. The most striking feature in both is probably how often the dative stands alone, without being supported by a preposition, or by a verb with a prepositional compound, or by any other standard expression which requires the dative. The dative has become ubiquitous; it has become independent, yet very vague. Thus, the proportion of datives supported by a preposition lies at 11% in Metochites and at less than 8% in Matthew of Ephesus, whereas it lies at between 23% (Isocrates) and 56% in Symeon (see Wahlgren 2005: 178). In Symeon and the other 10th c. texts the considerable amount of expressions with a preposition is chiefly due to the high frequency of the single preposition *ἐν*, which is mainly used for two purposes: to express direction (i.e., in cases where classical Greek would employ the preposition *εἰς* with the accusative), or to support an instrumental dative. Typical examples of the former are expressions such as *ἐν Χαζαρίᾳ φεύγει* (116.3), or *παρεγένετο ἐν τῷ Ἀμορίῳ* (125.8) – not surprisingly a very common type in a chronicle. Examples of the latter are expressions such as *ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει* (124.5), or *ἐν προφάσει* (135.13).

Now, why is all this so? Why does the dative show this kind of increase combined with an expansion, mostly at a late date, of its possible uses?

In addition to the explanation that stylistic considerations play a role, I would suggest that also competence has something to say, and what the vernacular is like at different times.

In the tenth century the dative is still familiar and not totally estranged from the vernacular: its use comes natural enough, and it is encountered in phrases which it would be quite possible to render in a structurally similar form of the vernacular without employing the dative. However, the dative is, or so I would suggest,[5] felt to be semantically void and not sufficient alone, and this explains why the instrumental dative is supported by the preposition *ἐν*. In the fourteenth century, on the other hand, the dative is completely dead, and this, together with the fact that the vernacular has undergone also other kinds of structural changes, paradoxically vouches for some freedom in its use by the literate. It may also be added that the perceived competence of the fourteenth-century authors, in the sense of an often fallacious familiarity with, and ambition

5 See for this Wahlgren, "Modern Greek in the 10th c. AD", p. 179.

to emulate, structures of the ancient classics, is almost certainly much more developed than in the tenth-century authors. Even when tenth-century authors knew and read the classics, the attention to detail is bound to have been modest. Fourteenth-century authors, on the other hand, may want to beat the classics at their own game.

To conclude, a study of the use of the dative in literary texts can reveal traces of its fate in the vernacular. It is probably also possible to evaluate its stylistic value in different contexts, although it goes without saying that a definitive evaluation demands a more thorough discussion of, certainly the case system as a whole, but also of the pragmatic framework in a wider sense. The modest but perhaps most significant finding here is that the dative is so alive and so productive in such a wide range of Byzantine texts, also those of a modest kind. This means that no such texts should be ignored in a comprehensive Byzantine grammatical research project, and that the coherence on the systemic level, suggesting that different authors share a common understanding of language, should be investigated.[6]

Summary

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate some tendencies in the use of the dative case in Byzantine literary texts and to discuss how these shed light on stylistic ambition as well as linguistic competence. The dative was still alive in the spoken language, at least to some extent, until the tenth century. Interestingly, in the centuries after that period, the frequency of datives in classicizing texts increases significantly as does the variety of its functions. It seems likely that the free use of the dative in the later texts is connected with its death in the spoken language of the same period. The most important observation, however, is that the dative is so surprisingly alive and productive in such a wide range of Byzantine texts.

[6] A similar view has been expressed some times before. See Wahlgren, 'Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past', esp. p. 529, and M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur. Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin – New York, 2007), pp. 107-42, and idem, "»Ich wäre schon längst Mönch geworden, wenn nicht ...« oder Die Macht des Kontrafaktischen", in K. Belke – E. Kislinger – A. Külzer – M. A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2007), pp. 245-256.

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THE SYNTHETIC PERFECT IN BYZANTINE LITERATURE*

In Ancient Greek (AG) the synthetic (i.e. monolectic) perfect constituted a separate verbal category. The main morphological characteristics of the synthetic perfect are reduplication, often the suffix -κ- placed after the stem, and certain specific endings. These forms originally expressed 'the present relevance of a past action, especially as a resultant state', concerning the subject, whether agent or patient (e.g. νενίκηκα 'I have won/I am the winner', τέθνηκα 'I have died/I am dead', πέπεισμαι 'I have been convinced/I am convinced').[1] In translating such perfect indicatives we sometimes use a stative verb (e.g. κέκτημαι 'I have acquired' > 'I possess'). In terms of temporality the perfect combined two temporal zones, the past and the present (as is clear in the above examples), in other words, it was 'bitemporal'.[2] With stative verbs, i.e. verbs whose present stem already expresses a state, the perfect expresses the highest degree of this state (so called intensive perfect), e.g. πεφόβημαι 'be terrified' (φοβοῦμαι 'be afraid').[3] The synthetic perfect was an essential part of the classical AG verbal system, originally clearly distinguished from the present and the aorist. Already from the fourth century on, however, synthetic perfect forms began to be used in the sense of a perfective past, in other

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1 G. Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London – New York, 1997), 53. On the AG perfect in general see: Y. Duhoux, *Le verbe grec ancien. Éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historique* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 2000, 2nd ed.), 396-431. A. Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* (Chicago – London, 2002, 2nd ed.), 35-38. B. G. Mandilaras, *Η δομή της αρχαίας ελληνικής γλώσσας (συντακτικό)* (Athens, 1985, 2nd ed.), 135-137. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik. 2. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* (Munich, 1966, 3rd ed.), 286-288. The debate on the precise meaning of the perfect and the development of this meaning in classical AG is still going on; see especially C. M. J. Sicking – P. Stork, "The Synthetic Perfect in Classical Greek", in idem, *Two Studies in the Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* (Leiden – New York –Cologne, 1996), 119-298.

2 The term was coined by Duhoux, *Le verbe grec ancien,* p. 421-426.

3 Rijksbaron, *The Syntax*, p. 38.

words, like the aorist, while the aorist could be used for the resultant state, the original meaning of the perfect, as well.[4] During the Koine period perfect and aorist forms became fully interchangeable.[5] This semantic overlapping is reflected also in morphology where perfect and aorist endings interchange.[6] In the New Testament the synthetic perfect functions as a narrative tense and alternates freely with the aorist.[7] It is generally believed that as a result of this process, in the spoken language old perfect forms ceased to be used, the aorist having assumed also the role of the old perfect, i.e. the aorist expressed the result of a past action in the present as well. It is, though, far from clear when this development was completed and the synthetic perfect forms definitively disappeared from the living language (probably during Late Antiquity/the Early Byzantine period).[8] In order to emphasize the resultant state, now expressed by the aorist, several periphrases were used during the Koine period and increasingly so during the Byzantine centuries.[9] The perfect of Modern Greek, formed by the auxiliary ἔχω + infinitive aorist is first attested in written texts towards the end of the seventeenth century, thus being a

[4] For an overview over the historical development see generally A. Moser, *The history of the perfect periphrases in Greek* (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1988), 218-225. Horrocks, *Greek*, p. 118-119. A. Moser, "Restructuring the System: The Case of the Greek Aorist and Perfect", in E. Karamalengou – E. Makrygianni (eds.), *Ἀντιφίλησις. Studies on Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature. In Honour of John-Theophanes A. Papademetriou* (Stuttgart, 2009), 648-656. See also E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluß der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfaßten Inschriften. II 1. Satzlehre* (Berlin – Leipzig, 1926, repr. 1970), § 139ff. Schwyzer, *Syntax,* p. 287-288 (IV4cδ2).

[5] Moser, *The history,* p. 225.

[6] B. Mandilaras, "Confusion of Aorist and Perfect in the Language of Non-Literary Greek Papyri", in idem, *Studies in the Greek Language* (Athens, 1972), 9-21. F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, vol. II Morphology* (Milan, 1981), 353. R. Browning, *Medieval and modern Greek* (Cambridge, 1983, 2nd ed.), 30 ('it is sometimes difficult to tell whether one is dealing with an aorist in -κα or with an irregularly reduplicated perfect.')

[7] Moser, *The history,* p. 221. F. Blass – A. Debrunner – F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 2001, 18th ed.), § 343.

[8] According to Duhoux, *Le verbe grec ancien,* p. 431, the 2nd c. AD. H. Ruge, "Wozu braucht man ein Perfekt? Aussterben und Wiedergeburt einer grammatischen Kategorie in byzantinischer Zeit", in S. Kolditz – R. C. Müller (eds.), *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von G. S. Henrich und K.-P. Matschke* (Leipzig, 2005), 255-262, esp. p. 258, dates the completion of the development as late as the 12th c.

[9] W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica. An investigation into the use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as auxiliaries or pseudo-auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the present day* (Amsterdam, 1965). Moser, *The history.*

rather recent phenomenon.[10] The only direct morphological descendent from the AG synthetic perfect in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is the (mostly unreduplicated) perfect passive participle.[11]

Whereas according to common opinion the synthetic perfect (as well as the pluperfect)[12] forms had vanished from the living spoken language back in Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine times, they still appear in Byzantine texts, and often quite frequently at that. In the following I will present some preliminary results of still uncompleted research concerning the use of the 'old' perfect forms. The frequency and distribution of synthetic perfect forms in Byzantine texts will be investigated in further detail, its semantics will be explored, and a tentative answer to the question why these forms were used will be given.

1. Appearance in Byzantine Texts. Frequency and Distribution

So far 61 texts chronologically distributed over 12 centuries have been investigated in respect of the frequency of synthetic perfect forms. Most of these texts are narrative in nature and belong to the genres of historiography, chronography and hagiography. As an appendix to this paper, a table displaying these texts and the respective numbers of synthetic perfect forms that appear in them is attached. From each text a sample of 6400 words has been examined.[13] In the course of my investigation, all

[10] M. C. Janssen, "Perfectly absent: the emergence of the Modern Greek perfect in Early Modern Greek", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37 (2013), 245-260.

[11] There is only one finite synthetic perfect form which is still in use in SMG, namely βρήκα (< AG/Byzantine εὕρηκα), cf. Horrocks, *Greek,* p. 119. This form, however, does not exist in all dialects (Cypriot Greek e.g. uses ηύρα instead; see however –κα aorist in various southern dialects). Compounds with βαίνω have an aorist ending in –ηκα (e.g. ανέβηκα). These probably are originally hybrid forms, with characteristics of both aorist and perfect.

[12] On the synthetic pluperfect in Byzantine Greek see M. Hinterberger, "Die Sprache der byzantinischen Literatur: Der Gebrauch der synthetischen Plusquamperfektformen", in M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur, gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Byzantinisches Archiv 20 (Munich – Leipzig, 2007), 107-142.

[13] In the few cases where the text had less than 6400 words (e.g. Michael Glykas' *Prison Poem*), the numbers shown in the table were calculated approximately on the basis of the actual frequency of perfect forms in the text. The seemingly arbitrary number of 6400 words corresponds to 600 lines of Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*, which because of my special interest in it, was the first text to be examined. In order to obtain average numbers, usually not 6400 words as a whole were investigated, but at least two different sections of the text. If a text showed a high degree of inconsistency in respect of

verbal forms displaying a perfect stem were recorded. In the table, however, only the indicative (active/passive), the participle (active/passive) and the infinitive as well as the pluperfect are displayed. Obviously, the indicative has to be distinguished from the participle and the infinitive. That these forms behave differently has already become clear from the historical overview where it has been mentioned that in SMG the only perfect form which goes back to the old perfect and is still productive, is the perfect participle mediopassive. Imperative and optative forms are not included in the table because they are extremely rare and appear only in very few texts. The occurrence of pluperfect forms is displayed for the sake of comparison. It should already be noted that pluperfect forms, though originally perfect stem forms and functioning as the preterite of the perfect, with the exception of a small group of verbs, so-called 'perfects with a present meaning',[14] are used in a manner entirely independent of the perfect.

Furthermore, in the investigation active forms were distinguished from mediopassive forms. In general, active indicative forms are more frequent than passive ones, whereas passive participles are more frequent than active ones (though there are quite few exceptions from the latter rule). Moreover, frequency of appearance indicates that after morphology semantics/syntactic characteristics play an important role: active intransitive forms differ in numbers from active transitive ones (in many texts the former outnumber the latter), both in the indicative and the participle (as well as the infinitive). The medium is extremely rare both in the indicative and in the participle.

The text samples were drawn from at least two separate sections of each text. As the independent search of these separate sections of text has shown, the score of perfect forms is relatively stable throughout the texts. This result leads us to the conclusion that the number of perfect forms constitutes a representative quality of a certain text. Since the frequency of use is consistent in one text, but this frequency is not the same for all texts, we conclude that the number of perfect forms used are indicative of the style of a certain author, but also for the general characteristics of a certain genre. This has been corroborated by the parallel investigation

the use of the synthetic perfect (i.e. totally different numbers in these separately investigated sections), the sample was extended. Generally, in my judgment, the length of 6400 words is enough to provide representative results. 6400 words correspond to ca. 800 lines in the Sources Chretiennes series, 900 lines in *Patrologia Graeca*, 940 lines of 15-syllable verse, etc.

[14] Cf. Moser, "Restructuring the System", p. 650.

into different works of the same author. Thus Theodoretos' *Philotheos historia* or Michael Psellos' *Life of Auxentios* show similar numbers as Theodoretos' *Ecclesiastical History* and Psellos' *Chronographia*.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.*	33 (31/2)	86 (46/40)	10	129	10
Theodoret., *Phil. hist.*	20 (18/2)	86 (29/57)	6	112	11
Mi. Psel., *Chron.*	40 (25/15)	71 (47/24)	10	121	80
Mi. Psel., *V. Auxentii*	49 (27/22)	61 (29/32)	2	112	58

It is interesting to note that in contrast to this stylistic consistency, even (roughly) contemporary authors who composed similar texts, as e.g. Georgios Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras and Ioannes Kantakouzenos writing history, differ significantly in their use of the synthetic perfect forms. Pachymeres uses far fewer perfect forms than the other two authors. In Gregoras the perfect is 64% more frequent, in Kantakouzenos 93%. In particular, the perfect indicative is rare in Pachymeres, whereas it is nearly 4 times more frequent in Gregoras, and nearly 3 times in Kantakouzenos. These differences are stylistically significant.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Georg. Pach., *Hist.*	9 (3/6)	42 (18/24)	8	59	17
Niceph. Greg., *Hist.*	34 (22/12)	56 (31/25)	8	98	8
Io. Cant., *Hist.*	24 (18/6)	66 (24/42)	14	104	12

An illuminating example for the mixture of registers in a single text which is clearly reflected in the use of the perfect forms is provided by Kantakouzenos' *History*. Inserted into the classicizing History is a low

level text, namely a letter addressed to Kantakouzenos by the Sultan of Egypt in an idiom close to the spoken language.[15] In this letter, stretching over five pages of text (Io. Cant., *Hist*. III 94, 2-99, 9) not a single perfect indicative form occurs, but exclusively perfect participle mediopassive forms, whereas in the rest of his text Kantakouzenos makes frequent use of the perfect indicative and active participles.

A similar case, though perhaps less clear, is provided by Theodoretos of Kyrrhos' *Ecclesiastical History*. The author inserts a number of authentic texts in order to advance his point, mostly official documents and letters. Again, these inserted texts differ significantly in their use of the perfect from the portions composed by the author himself. For the analysis of Theodoretos' use of the perfect the inserted texts were not taken into account. If we analyse this rather incongruous mixture of texts (mostly official documents, letters) and compare the result with the numbers relating to Theodoretos' use of the perfect interesting differences emerge:[16] In the inserted texts far fewer participles and many more infinitives are used.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Theodoretos, *Hist. Eccl.*	33	86	10	129	10
Inserted texts	31	52	36	119	5

From the analysis of the table it also becomes clear that there are obvious differences concerning the use of perfect forms between genres as well as between simple and elaborate forms of the same text. Whereas in historiography we usually find high numbers of perfect forms (88-120), in chronography the score is much lower (17-56). It is interesting to note that perfect infinitives and pluperfects are virtually absent from chronography. Mediopassive indicative forms are rare.

[15] L. Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum libri IV*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828-1832). On the use of an idiom very close to the vernacular for diplomatic purposes, by both Byzantine and foreign chancellaries, see M. Hinterberger, "Les relations diplomatiques entre Constantinople et la Russie en XIVe siècle: Les lettres patriarcales, les envoyés et le langage diplomatique", in M. Balard – E. Malamut – J.-M. Spieser (eds.), *Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges. Actes des trois séances du XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines. Paris, 19-25 août 2001*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 21 (Paris, 2005), 123-134.

[16] The passages *Hist. eccl.* I 1-14 and II 1-24 have been examined.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Io. Malal., *Chron.*	1 (1/0)	16 (13/3)	–	17	–
Georg. Syncel., *Chron.*	16 (8/8)	12 (5/7)	2	30	1
Theophan. Conf., *Chron.*	30 (28/2)	26 (18/8)	–	56	4
Sym. Mag., *Chron.*	26 (24/2)	24 (6/18)	–	50	–
Procop. Caes., *Hist.*	32 (16/16)	47 (18/29)	20	99	13
Theophyl. Sim., *Hist.*	18 (11/7)	82 (61/21)	7	107	17
Mi. Psel., *Chron.*	40 (25/15)	71 (47/24)	10	121	80
Anna Comn., *Hist.*	19 (12/7)	54 (37/17)	14	87	2

In the comparison of original low level text and its high style version an increase in perfect forms can be observed. The Vita quarta–version of the *Life of Pachomios* (*BHG* 1400d) is a highly rhetoricizing 10th text whereas the original version (*Vita prima*, *BHG* 1396, 4th c.) is a low level vita.[17] In the former perfect forms have more than doubled.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
V. Pachomii prima	14 (8/6)	22 (6/16)	2	38	–
V. Pachomii quarta	20 (13/7)	58 (32/26)	5	83	21

[17] F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae graecae*, Subsidia Hagiographica 19 (Brussels, 1932). Hagiographical works are referred to with a specific number given in F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a), (Brussels, 1957) (*BHG*).

The literary author and general Nikephoros Ouranos (10th/11th c.), when writing his version of the *Life of Symeon the Younger Stylite* (*BHG* 1690), uses more perfect participles than his immediate seventh-century model text (*BHG* 1689).[18] In Ouranos' version perfect infinitives appear, whereas they are totally absent from the *Old Vita*, and the number of mediopassive indicative forms increase from 5 to 10. Most remarkable however is the increase in pluperfect forms from 1 to 42.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
V. Sym. Styl.	22 (17/5)	33 (15/18)	–	55	1
Niceph. Ur., *V. Sym. Styl.*	21 (11/10)	44 (22/22)	4	69	42

In the fourteenth century a certain Theodoros Phialites composed an elaborated version of the popular, though stylistically unpretentious *Dioptra* by Philippos Monotropos (11th c.), increasing, in only the 60 verses so far edited, the number of perfect forms from 5 to 12.[19]

Conversely, the quantity of perfect forms drops drastically in low level versions of originally high register texts. See e.g. Anna Komnene's *Alexias* or Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis* (mid 12th c. and beginning of 13th c. respectively) and their respective mid-14th c. simplified versions (metaphrases). In particular, indicative forms are reduced significantly (the mediopassive disappears entirely) and perfect infinitives as well as pluperfects no longer exist.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Anna Comn., *Hist.*	19 (12/7)	54 (37/17)	14	88	27
Metaphr. hist. Ann. Comn.	3 (3/0)	9 (3/6)	–	12	–

18 J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866), vol. 86, cols. 2987-3216. P. van den Ven, *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521-592). Tome 1er. Introduction et texte grec*, Subsidia Hagiographica 32 (Brussels, 1962).

19 E. Auvrey, *Les Pleurs de Philippe, poème en vers politique de Philippe le Solitaire* (Paris, 1875).

Nicet. Chon., *Hist.*	18 (8/10)	28 (17/11)	2	48	17
Metaphr. hist. Nicet. Chon.	3 (3/0)	22 (5/17)	–	25	–

It seems, therefore, that the frequent use of perfect forms, and within the paradigm particularly the use of certain morphological categories, is clearly linked to stylistic conventions or personal predilections. Classicizing high level texts, in general, apply considerably more perfect forms than unpretentious low level texts. This connection between perfect forms and register, however, is not as clear as in the case of the pluperfect (see also below part 3).

Although the pluperfect is entirely absent from certain texts, no text has been found where perfect forms do not appear at all. The average number of finite perfect forms found in the samples is 21, but there are conspicuous differences between the lowest and highest occurrences. Since in the living language perfect forms were no longer in use, it is to be expected that as a learned category they will be rare in texts not belonging to the learned classicizing genres. Only one single form is attested in the sample taken from Malalas, the sixth-century chronographer, whose language is considered to be close to the spoken language.[20] At the other end of the spectrum we find Psellos' *Vita Auxentii* (49 perfect indicatives) or Georgios Akropolites' *History* (68). The reason for this high frequency in the latter will be discussed below in 3.2. The low number of appearances in Malalas seems to be in accordance with the established linguistic fact that the perfect indicative had disappeared from the spoken language and comes to corroborate the hypothesis that its use is due to stylistic considerations. The other texts examined, however, do not clearly suggest stylistic differentiation, because also in quite a few low level texts the perfect indicative is fairly frequent (e.g. Niketas of Amnia 26, Symeon Magistros 26) whereas it is rare in certain classicizing texts: e.g. the number of perfect indicatives in Nikephoros Ouranos' *Vita Symeonis* (21) is even slightly lower than in the *Old Vita Symeonis* (22), whereas pluperfect forms in Ouranos' text (42) are more frequent

[20] The numbers of perfect forms are not so low in the entire text. Aerts, *Periphrastica,* p. 83, in his sample (40 pages in the Dindorf edition), counted 10 (7/3) indicatives and 22 (12/10) participles. Yet, in another sample (ibid. 84) he counted only 3 indicatives. Thus, on average, the number of occurrences remains low.

than perfect indicative ones. How can these findings be explained? (see also part 3 below).

The somewhat high number of perfect indicative forms in many low level texts is due to the frequent use of a lexically restricted group of perfect forms. In some texts *γέγονα* alone accounts for about half of the occurrences (e.g. 18 out of 35 in Athanasios' *Vita Antonii*, 6 out of 12 in *Acta Anastasii*, 9 out of 20 in Io. Mosch., *Pratum spir*., 6 out of 13 in Georg., *V. Theodori Syc*., 18 out of 30 in Theophan., *Chron*., 12 out of 26 in Sym. Mag., *Chron*., 11 out of 33 in Mich. Glyc., *Chron*.), obviously functioning as the past tense of the verb *γίγνομαι*.[21] Other frequent perfect indicatives are δέδωκα, εἴρηκα, εὕρηκα, ἑώρακα, πεποίηκα. This fact leads us to the tentative conclusion that for a small lexically restricted group of verbs, for various reasons, synthetic perfect forms were still used even in the spoken language (see 3.1).

If we exclude those verbs which are frequently used, the number of finite perfect forms in low level texts drops drastically. Accordingly, the usage of forms other than these is related to stylistic elaboration.

Even in decidedly vernacular texts quite a few perfect forms are used. In the 12th century when the use of the vernacular for literary texts is first attested, both in the Ptochoprodromic poems and in Glykas' *Prison Poem* perfect forms can be found (although the language of these texts is notoriously mixed):

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Mi. Glyc., *Carm.de carc.*	18 (9/9)	35 (6/29)	–	53	–
Carm. Ptochopr.	15 (11/4)	41 (3/38)	–	56	–

The *Grottaferrata version* of *Digenes Akritas* has quite a lot finite perfect forms, mediopassive ones included, whereas in the *Escorial version*, in respect of the synthetic perfect, the state of SMG has already been reached: there, next to only one verb which is used in the perfect indicative (ηὕρηκα/εὕρηκα), we find exclusively passive participles. The same holds

[21] E.g. in Kyrillos of Skythopolis' texts the overall ratio of *γέγονεν*: *ἐγένετο* is 54:7; cf. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu (last access 1.8.2013). The active endings of the vernacular form *ἔγινα* which substitutes *ἐγενόμην*/*γέγονα* are probably motivated by *γέγονα*.

true for 13th c. *Libistros* and 14th c. *Kallimachos*, with the exception that in the latter we also find γέγονα. Interestingly, the total number of perfect participles in *Digenes G* and *E*, but also in the two romances is nearly the same. However active participles occur exclusively in *Digenes G*.

	pf. ind. (a/p)	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Digenes Acr. G	30 (23/7)	34 (13/21)	1	65	2
Digenes Acr. E	3 (3/0)	35 (0/35)	–	38	–
Hist. Lib. et Rod.	8 (8/0)	34 (0/34)	–	42	–
Hist. Call. et Chrys.	6 (6/0)	31 (0/31)	–	37	–

Both in low level and high level texts, the category of so-called 'perfects with a present meaning', i.e. (often defective) perfect forms, which already in classical Greek tended to be used like present tense forms,[22] accounts for many instances (both among finite forms and participles):[23] δέδοικα/δέδια ('to be afraid)', ἔοικα ('to seem'), εἴωθα ('to have the habit'), καθέστηκα ('to be'), πέφυκα ('to be by nature') are extremely popular in many texts.

In general, indicative perfect mediopassive forms are rarer than active forms (thus contradicting the trend in participles where the converse is true). In low level texts numbers of passive indicative forms are extremely low: none in Niketas' *Vita Philareti*, 1 in Ioannes Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* and the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, 2 in the *Life of Eutychios* and Leontios' *Life of Symeon the Fool* etc. In other texts the passive perfect practically is restricted to the phrases 'as is written' καθὼς γέγραπται (usually with reference to Scripture), or καθὼς εἴρηται

22 Cf. A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect* (London, 1897, repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 438 (§ 1868). Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* § 177ff. und 193f. Subsequently new present forms were created on the basis of such present perfects, e.g.: ἕστηκα > στήκω, ἐγρήγορα > γρηγορῶ.

23 Cf. G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Michael Psellos*, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 2 (Berlin, 1956), 228.

referring to 'abovementioned' passages (e.g. 3 out of 5 in *Acta Anastasii*, 4 out of 7 in Sabas' *Life of Ioannikios*, 4 out of 5 in Niketas Stethatos' *Life of Symeon*). Transitive medium forms appear even more rarely and are restricted to such forms as κέκτημαι, μέμνημαι, περιβέβλημαι. Whereas mediopassive indicative forms tend to disappear from low level texts, they obviously are a marker for elaborated high style, as their increased numbers in such authors as Prokopios, Michael Psellos or Niketas Choniates clearly indicate.

Given the fact that the perfect passive participle is the only perfect form to have survived into SMG, it is not surprising that the participle (active plus mediopassive) is the most frequent perfect category in the samples (average 40). As in the case of the indicative, in some texts the number of perfect participles is high because of the frequent repetition of certain participles. Like εὕρηκα so εὑρηκώς is a much used type because the corresponding aorist participles seem to be avoided (due to its irregular formation).[24] Although the finite form οἶδα is not frequent, its participle εἰδώς is. In some texts participles derived from composites with ἵστημι are very popular. Some of these frequent participles have become frequently used nouns and account for a high percentage of cases of perfect form usage in some texts (e.g. ὁ προεστώς 'abbot', τὸ γεγονός 'event', τὸ συμβεβηκός 'event', τὸ εἰωθός 'habit', τὸ συνειδός 'conscience'). The same is true for the participle εἰρημένος in the sense of 'the aforesaid'.[25]

In 17 text samples out of 61 the perfect infinitive does not appear at all, in another 6 samples only once, in 8 texts only 2 or three times, which means that in half of the samples the perfect infinitive does not in essence occur. On the other hand, the infinitive is frequent in Prokopios, Anna Komnene and Ioannes Kantakouzenos (20, 14, 14), notoriously classicizing authors. This finding leads us to the conclusion that the frequent use of the perfect infinitive is a key hallmark of high style (in contrast to the indicative, which is only a relative marker). As such, the perfect infinitive corresponds directly with the frequency of pluperfects. However, also in Athanasios' *Life of Anthony*, a text regarded as rather low level, its frequency is high. The latter fact probably should be interpreted as a stylistic peculiarity of the author.

[24] Cf. Aerts, *Periphrastica*, p. 84.

[25] Other participles are also frequently used with the article, as τὰ πεπραγμένα 'the deeds, actions', τὰ εἰρημένα 'the words said'.

2. Semantics: How is the Synthetic Perfect Used in Byzantine Texts?

According to all the evidence available, which generally is based on the interpretation of forms according to their linguistic context, synthetic perfect forms are used as equivalents of present tense or aorist (in accordance with its bitemporal character in AG). Concerning the indicative, active and medium transitive forms nearly always have aorist meaning, active intransitive forms have both aorist and present tense meaning, present perfect forms almost always have present tense meaning, passive forms when used within a narrative have aorist meaning as well, otherwise, especially in formulae like 'as is written', they have present meaning.

It has been sufficiently proven that quite often the synthetic perfect forms function like aorist forms.[26] Thus, the use of the synthetic perfect in an aorist sense has been recorded e.g. for the historiographical works of Agathias, Genesios, Michael Psellos, Ioannes Skylitzes, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates, Michael Kritoboulos, and Georgios Sphrantzes.[27] The aorist meaning becomes clear when the perfect functions as narrative tense and refers to a certain moment in the past, e.g. τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἀβδελᾶς Ἰβιναλὶμ τέθνηκεν ('In this year Abdallah ibn Alim died'; Theophanes, *Chron.* 439, 8). When the perfect functions as a narrative

[26] R. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", in S. Vryonis, jr (ed.), *The Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 1 (Malibu, Calif., 1978), 103-133 (= idem, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* (Northampton, 1989), XV), 108, 110-111, 113, 121. G. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), § 343.

[27] Böhlig, *Untersuchungen* 226-227. See, furthermore, the *index graecitatis* in the editions of the aforementioned texts in the Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae (CFHB) series, usually under the heading *perfectum pro aoristo*: R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*, CFHB 2 (Berlin, 1967), 221. A. Lesmüller-Werner – I. Thurn, *Iosephi Genesii Regum Libri Quattuor*, CFHB 14 (Berlin – New York, 1978), 116; cf. also A. Werner, "Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes bei Genesios", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 31 (1931), 258-323, at p. 304-305. S. Wahlgren, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, CFHB 44/1 (Berlin – New York 2004), 400. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, CFHB 5 (Berlin – New York, 1973), 568. I. A. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia. II. Indices*, CFHB 11/2 (Berlin, 1975), 106. F. Kolovou – D. R. Reinsch, *Annae Comnenae Alexias. II. Indices*, CFHB 40/2 (Berlin – New York, 2001), 238. D. R. Reinsch, *Critobuli Imbriotae historiae*, CFHB 22 (Berlin, 1983), 246. R. Maisano, *Giorgio Sfranze. Cronaca*, CFHB 29 (Rome, 1990), 260-262. – Although these *indices grammatici* provide valuable data, most linguistic phenomena are presented as deviations from an ideal AG norm and therefore as mistakes or errors committed by the Byzantine authors. This approach gives an utterly distorting picture of the language of Byzantine literature; cf. also S. Wahlgren, "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Chichester, 2010), 527-538, esp. p. 527.

tense, it is used side by side with the aorist. The immediate syntactic affiliation of aorist and perfect forms is a strong indication of their semantic interchangeability. A few examples may suffice:[28]

> ... μεσίαυλον πεποίηκεν· ἐποίησεν δὲ καὶ δοχεῖα ὑδάτων ... (Cyril. Scyth., *V. Sabae* 117, 12-14).
> ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὗτος τοιοῦτό τι γέγραφεν ἢ εἶπε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ (Eustrat., *V. Eutychii* 257-258).
> λέλυκε τε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὰ δυσδιάλυτα τοῦ σοφοῦ ἅμματα δυνάμει λογου καὶ πνεύματος (Nicet. Steth., *V. Sym. N. Th*. 77, 11).
> πύργους τοὺς εὐπύργους / πυριφλεγεῖς πεποίηκε καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθεῖλε (Const. Manas., *Chron*. 2052-53).

This interchangeability of perfect and aorist forms is especially conspicuous in certain texts where both forms of the same verb are used in the same linguistic environment. In his *History* Leon Diakonos (10th c.), when referring to already mentioned data, uses the phrases ᾗπέρ (or ὡς) μοι (ἤδη) εἴρηται and ᾗπέρ (or καθάπερ) μοι (ἤδη) ἐρρήθη (each 4 times) without any semantic difference ('as I have [already] said').[29] Also in the following passages of the old *Vita Auxentii* (*BHG* 199, probably 10th c.) perfect and aorist forms appear interchangeable:[30]

> τοῦτο *συμβέβηκεν* ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τῆς πολυορκίας ὑμῶν (1392C), cf. διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦτο *συνέβη* τῷ τέκνῳ ἡμῶν (1393B), τοῦτο δι' ἡμᾶς *συνέβη* καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιστροφήν (1400A).
> ταῦτα δὲ *εἰρηκώς* ἐπεδίδου ἑαυτόν (1397B), cf. τρίτον τὸ Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος *εἰπὼν* πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐπέταττεν (1397C).
> σιώπα καὶ *πεφίμωσο,* χαιρέκακε δαίμων (1401C), cf. *φιμώθητι*, πνεῦμα πονηρόν (1408C).

In these cases the synthetic perfect is an alternative form of the aorist. This is the standard role of the synthetic perfect in Byzantine texts.

[28] Again, such cases are frequently recorded in the *indices grammatici* of modern editions under the heading of *variatio temporum*, e.g. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* 110. Lesmueller-Werner – Thurn, *Iosephi Genesii Regum Libri Quattuor* 117. A. Heisenberg – P. Wirth, *Georgii Acropolitae opera* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1978), II 336-337. Reinsch, *Critobuli Imbriotae* 246. The phenomenon of mixture of tenses, however, occurs already in AG texts from the classical period (although rarely) when the perfect and the aorist were still clearly distinguished, and therefore has to be treated with caution; see Siveking – Stork, "The Synthetic Perfect", p. 127-128.

[29] Cf. TLG.

[30] Migne, *Patrologia graeca* 114, cols. 1377-1410.

Since the aorist expressed also the resultant state, occasionally perfect forms are used as in AG. It cannot be ruled out that some Byzantine authors had obtained such a close familiarity with AG texts that they tended to use the synthetic perfect more where it was originally applied in AG. However, I believe that this is more an exception than a rule.

Quite often perfect passive or active intransitive forms may have present tense meaning. This is the case when the form clearly expresses a state: γέγραπται ('it is written'), πεπλήρωται ('it is full') or περιβέβληται ('he/she is dressed').

The so-called 'perfects with a present meaning' which already in AG had present tense meaning continue to have this meaning also in Byzantine Greek.[31] While in Byzantine texts (in contrast to AG) in general the synthetic pluperfect functions independently from the perfect, it is used as the preterite of those perfect forms which have present tense meaning (εἰώθει 'he was used to', εἴωθε 'he is used to').

These general conclusions drawn from a close overview of Byzantine texts are supported by two categories of Byzantine texts: lexica and metaphrases, i.e. intralingual translations.[32]

2.1. Lexica

While grammars tend to provide rather obscure and not very helpful information concerning the use and meaning of the perfect,[33] Byzantine lexica often explain perfect forms rendering them as aorist forms[34] or in the case of present perfect forms, as present, e.g. in the lexicon attributed to Photios, where we find the following equivalents:[35]

[31] See above p. 186 ἔοικα etc. Δέδοικα/δέδια, however, occasionally has aorist meaning.

[32] On metaphrases see generally M. Hinterberger, "Between simplification and elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis compared", in J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 35-62.

[33] E.g. Theodoros Prodromos, *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* (12th c.), ed. C. G. Goettling, *Theodosii Alexandrini Grammatica* (Leipzig, 1822), 145, 2-17 says that the perfect expresses a near past. Cf. also Moser, *The history*, p. 224 (commenting on Ammonios who defines the perfect as a remote past).

[34] Already Hesychios lists ἤνεγκα as a synonym of ἀγήοχα, cf. Moser, *The history,* p. 224.

[35] C. Theodoridis, *Photii Patriarchae lexicon* (3 vols., Berlin – New York, 1982-2013).

Δ93 δέδυκεν· εἰσῆλθεν, Ε9 ἑάλωκεν· ἐλήφθη, Ε229 εἴληχεν· ἔλαχεν, Ε424 ἐκλελάκτικεν· ἀποβέβηκεν, ἀπέφυγεν, Λ 172 λέλογχεν· ἔτυχεν, ἀπήλαυσεν, Μ266 μεμυκότα· κρύψαντα, Τ183 τετάφατε· ἐθάψατε, Τ186 τέτηκα· ἔτηξα· ἢ ἐτάκην, and Γ 45 γέγηθε· χαίρει (cf. Ε32 ἐγεγήθει· ἔχαιρεν), Ε1228 ἐξηρτημένον· κρεμάμενον, Η257 ἤρτηται· κρέμαται, Μ259 μέμηνεν· μαίνεται.

2.2. Metaphrases

We have already noted that perfect forms in hagiographical metaphrases which generally constitute stylistically elaborated versions of older, less pretentious texts, are more frequent than in their model texts. The anonymous author of the 10th c. *Vita Philareti* (*BHG* 1512) replaces perfect forms, both indicative and participles, for aorist forms in the original vita written by Niketas of Amnia (*BHG* 1511z, 9th c.):[36]

δέδωκε 67, 17; 71, 6 < ἔδωκεν 118; 254
δέδωκεν 79, 1 < ἐπλήρωσεν 588
ἐλήλακε 65, 30 < ἤλασε 46
εὑρηκώς 74, 14 < εὑρών 372
κέκληκε 81, 8 < ἐκάλεσεν 667
μεταμεμέληται 71, 21 < μετεμελήθη 270
τέθνηκεν 66, 20; 69, 7 < ἀπέθανεν 82; 180
ὑστέρημαι 66,25 < ὑστέρησας 86

However, we observe also the reverse phenomenon, when perfect forms in the old vita correspond with an aorist in the tenth-century version.[37]

δέδωκεν 342 > διένειμεν 73, 24
πεποίηκα 275 > ἐποίησα 71, 25

Both correspondences confirm the use of the synthetic perfect as a narrative tense that freely alternates with the aorist.

Probably 100/150 years after its original composition Michael Andreopoulos' *Syntipas* (around 1100) was slightly downgraded in its register (the

[36] L. Rydén, *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas*, Studia Byzantina Upsalensia 8, (Uppsala, 2002). A. A. Vasiliev, "Διήγησις πάνυ ὠφέλιμος περί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ δικαίου Φιλαρέτου τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος", *Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 5 (1900), 49-86.

[37] In one instance, an already existing perfect form is replaced with a more stylish synonym: γέγονεν 97 > γεγένηται 66, 34.

so-called *retractatio* 13th c.?).[38] In the course of this simplification, again, quite a few (though by no means all) perfect forms were rendered as aorist:

ἀνῄρηκεν > ἀπέκτεινε 46, 12/26
ἀποδέδεικται > ἀπεδείχθη 24, 7/23
ἀποκεκόμικεν > προσήνεγκε 20, 12/29
δεδήλωκας > παρήγγειλας 17, 2/18
δεδήλωκε > ἐμήνυσε 32, 11/26
δεδήλωκε > διηγήσατο 35, 4/21
ἑώρακεν > εἶδεν 24, 4/20
ἠκολούθηκε > ἠκολούθησε 42, 13/29
κεκοίμηκεν > ἐκοίμησε 45, 10/28
κεκόμικε > ἐκόμισε 31, 10/24
μεμύημαι > ἔμαθον 5, 4/20
νενίκηκε > ἐνίκησε 18, 9/25
πεπέδηται > ἐδεσμεύθη 9, 12/26
πέπεισμαι > ἔγνων 10, 9/26
παραγέγονε > παρεγένετο 23, 1/18; 24, 6/22
παραδέδωκεν > ἔδωκεν 4, 3/19
πεποίηκε > ἐποίησε 23, 10/26

As in the previous example, also in this text occasionally an aorist form in the high register text corresponds with a synthetic perfect form in the simplified version.

(ἀγάπην) πεποίηκε < διηλλάγη 43, 19/3

Perfect participles and the infinitives are usually rendered as aorists as well:

ἀκηκοώς > ἀκούσας 11, 8/25; 18, 13/29
(ἔκθαμβος) γεγονώς > ἐκπλαγείς 41, 16/31
δεδιώς > φοβηθείς 44, 11/28
εἰρηκώς > εἰπών 22, 7/23
ἑωρακώς > θεασάμενος 36, 6/22; 44, 5/21
ἀπεσταλκέναι > πέμψαι 22, 13/27
ἑωρακέναι > ἰδεῖν 17, 17/31
προσεσχηκέναι > ἀκοῦσαι 42, 14/31

[38] V. Jernstedt, *Mich. Andreopuli Liber Syntipae,* Mémoires de l'Academie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, VIIIe série, vol. XI, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1912). Marc Lauxtermann informs me that according to his opinion the *retractatio* is closer to the original than the more classicizing version.

So-called 'perfects with a present meaning' (and occasionally intensive perfect) forms are replaced with simple present:

δεδύνημαι > δύναμαι 26, 16/31
δέδοικα > φόβον ἔχω 10, 11/27, > φοβοῦμαι 40, 8/27
διηπόρημαι > ἀπορῶ 36, 13/29
εἴωθα > συνήθειαν ἔχω 28, 12/22; 30, 7/22
ἔοικα > δοκῶ 8, 9/24
κέκτημαι > ἔχω 36, 18/33
πέποιθα > θαρρῶ 35, 7/23
πέφυκα > υπάρχω 20, 1/18, > εἰμι 24, 13/29
κεκτημένη > ἔχουσα 22, 11/26; 44, 8/25
εἰδότα > γινώσκοντα 38, 1/18

Sometimes passive perfect forms expressing a state also correspond to present tense forms, e.g. τῷ γήρᾳ τετρύχωται > γέρων ἐστι 10, 13/20.

But in most cases it is the aorist which replaces the perfect, as the above correspondences taken from the first 45 pages of the text show.

Historiography is a notoriously traditional genre with a markedly classicizing colour. In order to make the historical information available to a broader public two such highly classicizing historiographical texts, Anna Komnene's *Alexias* and Niketas Choniates' *History* obtained simplified editions in the 14th c., which again allow us, with certain restrictions of course, to observe how synthetic perfect forms were understood or, at least, how they were interpreted and translated into simple written/literary Greek (the so-called Schrift-Koine, not the vernacular).[39]

In the part of the *Alexias* which corresponds to the metaphrase (more than the first half is missing), there is a total of 138 synthetic perfect forms (only 28 finite forms).[40] According to Hunger's meticulous analysis, about two thirds of the forms are rendered as aorist forms (96), the rest mostly as present (also 7 imperfect forms). On 8 occasions a perfect

[39] Following a suggestion made by Hans Eideneier in his review of Hunger's edition of the metaphrase of the Alexias (see following note) in *Südostforschungen* 41 (1982), 589-590, Herbert Hunger opted for *Schrift-Koine* as the term describing most appropriately the linguistic form of these simplified texts; see the discussion in H. Hunger – I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes: Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 18 (Vienna, 1986), 30.

[40] R. D. Reinsch – A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, CFHB 40 (Berlin – New York, 2001). H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII. Ein Beitrag zur Erschließung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache,* Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 15 (Vienna, 1981).

form in the *Alexias* is rendered as present tense in the metaphrase. In 6 cases these are passive forms. Once an intransitive active form is rendered with historical present tense. The active transitive μεμάθηκα 'I have learnt' is rendered as γιγνώσκω 'I know' (Anna speaks of herself as narrator and refers to the knowledge she has acquired). In Hunger's analysis, only instances of change were recorded. The sample of the metaphrase I have investigated (§1-168) contains 12 perfect forms: 3 indicatives (γέγονα, taken from Anna's original, and 2 new ones, δέδωκε, πεποίηκε) and 9 participles (all passives, some of them new, i.e. not corresponding with perfect participles in the *Alexias*). In essence, in the metaphrase the synthetic perfect indicative no longer exists, with the characteristic exception of the 3 aforementioned forms.

The comparison of Choniates' original, where perfect forms, particularly participles and infinitives, are rarer than in the *Alexias*, and its metaphrase gives approximately the same result.[41] As already mentioned above, the total number of perfect forms is reduced to a half (indicatives to 1/6). The majority of perfect forms in Choniates are rendered in the metaphrase (when they do not simply disappear because of the metaphrast's shortening of the text) as aorist forms:

βέβυσται 165, 89 > ἠσφάλισαν 115, 17
δέδωκε 165, 92 > ὑπεσχέθη 115, 18
δέδεικται 163, 9 > ἐφάνη 113, 7
ἑάλωκε 128, 26 > ὑπετάγη 81, 12
ἠφάντωται 166, 95 > ἠφανίσθησαν 115, 21
κέκρικεν 164, 61 > ἔκρινε 115, 2
προσείληπται 126, 60 > ἔτυχε 79, 13

The same is true for non-finite perfect forms:

ηὐμοιρηκώς 129, 32 > τυχών 81, 17
συμβεβηκότων128, 4 > συμβάντων 80, 21
εἰληφέναι 159, 92 > δοκιμάσαι 110, 2

A few forms are rendered with present tense; they are passive, intransitive active forms or so-called 'perfects with a present meaning':

[41] J.-L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates, Chronike diegesis*, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975). J. Davis, *Η Μετάφραση της Χρονικής Διηγήσεως του Νικήτα Χωνιάτη* (Ph.D. diss., Ioannina, 2004, 2 vols). Davis, ibid. I 73-74, already listed examples for the replacement of perfect and pluperfect forms.

διενηνόχαμεν 155, 73 > διαφέρομεν 106, 1
ἐξήρτηται 155, 84 > κρέμαται 106, 10 (cf. the aforementioned explanation in Photios' lexicon)
κέχρηται 131, 90 > χρῆται 83, 12
συγκατενήνεκται 152, 13 > πίπτει 104, 1

Occasionally, in this text as in others, the narrative perfect in the sense of an aorist is rendered as historical present tense (ὑποτέθεικε 159, 4 > ὑποτίθησι 110, 7).

All metaphrases give approximately the same picture: Most perfect forms in high level texts correspond with non-perfect forms in low level texts. When perfect forms are replaced, in the vast majority of cases the corresponding form is an aorist form. Moreover, two small groups are so-called 'perfects with a present meaning' (mostly active intransitive) as well as passive forms clearly expressing a state, both of which correspond with present forms in the low level texts. Nevertheless, perfect forms do exist also in low level texts. Some perfect indicative forms already existing in high level texts remain the same in the simplified versions. Exceptionally, a few new perfect forms are added in low level texts. In both cases, these perfect forms belong to a rather restricted lexical group of verbs.

3. Why and to What End are these Perfect Forms Used?

3.1. Substitution of irregular aorist forms

During the early Byzantine Period a restricted number of certain perfect forms seems to have still been in use also in the spoken language. Perfect forms tend to replace 'irregular' aorist forms, especially so-called strong aorist forms (εἴρηκα, ἔσχηκα, εὕρηκα, ἑώρακα for εἶδον etc. and the respective participles) or root aorists (ἔγνωκα for ἔγνων)[42] and participles of athematic verbs.[43] As we have seen above, some of these forms survived into 12th c. vernacular.

3.2. Stylistic device, alternative forms for stylistic reasons

As noted above (1.), the frequent use of synthetic perfect forms as alternative forms for, and side by side with, the aorist is a characteristic

[42] Cf. Horrocks, *Greek,* p. 181.

[43] E.g. Kyrillos of Skythopolis uses the nominative δούς but seems to prefer forms of δεδωκώς for the *casus obliqui*; cf. TLG.

of high style texts. The comparison with metaphrases, simplified texts which aim for the most part at delivering factual information, shows that nearly all perfect (indicative) forms can be substituted by aorist or present forms. This means that perfect forms are not necessary for delivering the factual information. What they do, it may be concluded, is enhance the aesthetic value of the text. The perceived aesthetic qualities carried by perfect forms are reflected by the fact that in Leon Diakonos' *History* the normal 'perfect past' participle of the verb λαμβάνω is not λαβών, but εἰληφώς (ratio 1:9)[44] or in Anna Komnene's *Alexias* of the verb μανθάνω not μαθών, but μεμαθηκώς (ratio 1:8), whereas it is μαθών which we always find in the metaphrase.[45] The obvious use of the synthetic perfect merely as an alternative has been mentioned above (e.g. in *Vita Auxentii*). Some authors make excessive use of perfect indicative forms, as e.g. Michael Psellos or Georgios Akropolites. In their texts the perfect competes with the aorist and the pluperfect as narrative tense.

However, things are not as simple as that. The synthetic perfect by itself does not necessarily indicate high style. The obviously stylistically elaborated *Vita of Symeon the Stylite* by Nikephoros Ouranos has fewer perfect forms than the model it relies on, the unpretentious *Old Vita of Symeon*. Nikephoros often replaces the very common perfect forms γέγονα, δέδωκα or πεποίηκα. On the other hand he enriches the text with more recherche perfect forms, particularly mediopassive ones.

George of Cyprus' *Life of Lazaros* (*BHG* 980, 13th c.) too is an elaborated version of the older Life written by the monk Gregory in the 11th c. (*BHG* 979). But perfect indicative forms are more frequent in Gregory's older text (31:13). This probably has to do with the fact that George of Cyprus is a real classicist, in the sense that he indeed turned exclusively to the ancient texts (where perfect forms generally are less frequent than in Byzantine texts) in order to create his own personal style by imitating them closely. Accordingly, in his texts perfect forms are not as frequent as in other authors who treated these forms as mere tokens of their high aesthetic/literary ambitions.[46]

[44] The preference is less clear in the indicative, but still the ratio ἔλαβον:εἴληφα is 1:4,5.

[45] Cf. TLG. See also Horrocks, *Greek*, p. 199.

[46] On these two texts see also M. Hinterberger, "Hagiographische Metaphrasen. Ein möglicher Weg der Annäherung an die Literarästhetik der frühen Palaiologenzeit", in A. Rhoby – E. Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio — aemulatio — variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien 22.-25. Oktober 2008)*, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21 (Vienna, 2010), 137-151, esp. p. 143.

Sometimes, it seems, the perfect indicative is used particularly for narration in direct speech. Ioannes Kantakouzenos presents a considerable part of his *History* through dialogue, and it is there that the perfect indicative is mostly used. This is the main reason for the high score of perfect indicative forms in Kantakouzenos' *History*. Indications for the same function, i.e. synthetic perfect as narrative tense in direct speech, can be collected also from other authors (Mich. Andreop., *Syntipas* 15, 3-14; Nicetas Chon., *Hist*. Man. V 165, 86-90).

3.3. For metrical reasons

In addition to their general literary qualities, perfect forms that serve as an alternative for the aorist appear to have developed a special function in metrical texts.[47]

As other authors too, Philippos Monotropos (11th c.) uses perfect and aorist forms side by side, obviously without any semantic difference.[48] But here these forms fulfil an additional function when perfect forms are used in order to avoid the hiatus which would be created by aorist forms. This use of the perfect is especially conspicuous in this text because perfect and aorist forms of the same verb sometimes occur in immediate textual proximity:

> καὶ τῷ ἐχθρῷ δεδούλευκας πάσας σου τὰς ἡμέρας – ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις μου καλῶς ἐδούλευσέ μοι πάνυ (35, 31 and 36).
> καὶ ὅσα πέπραχας δεινὰ σμῆξον ἐνταῦθα τάχος – ἅπερ ἔπραξεν (35, 22 and 40).
> ἄλλῳ τινὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων / ἀλλὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ δέδωκε τῷ ἁμαρτόντι μέγα (51, 7-8).

In Theodore Prodromos' poems synthetic perfect forms function as a device for regulating the number of syllables and the place of the accent in the verse, according to the requirements of the metre, in this case the 15-syllable. See e.g. in his *Historical Poems* (12th c.):[49]

[47] Cf. M. Hinterberger, "Το φαινόμενο της πολυτυπίας σε δημώδη κείμενα", in H. Eideneier – U. Moennig – N. Toufexis (eds.), *Θεωρία και πράξη των εκδόσεων της υστεροβυζαντινής, αναγεννησιακής και μεταβυζαντινής γραμματείας. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Ævi IVa Αμβούργο 28-31 Ιανουαρίου 1999* (Irakleio, 2001), 215-244, and idem, "Plusquamperfektformen", 131-134.

[48] S. Lavriotes, *Ἡ Διόπτρα* (= *Ὁ Ἄθως* 1 (1919) (published Athens, 1920).

[49] W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 11 (Vienna, 1974).

ὦ πόλις πόλις Ῥωμαΐς, πόλις, Αὐσόνων πόλις / εὗρες βραδέως, εὕρηκας, εὗρες ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις / τὸν κόσμον σου, τὴν δόξαν σου καὶ τὸν ἐκδικητήν σου (IV 20-22).
οὐκ εἶδεν ἥλιος ποτὲ τοιοῦτον βασιλέα / οὐδ᾽ ἥλιον ἑώρακεν ἀνατολὴ τοιοῦτον (IV 202-203).
ἀπήλαυσέ σου Δούναβις, Ἅλυς ἑώρακέ σε, / εἶδε σε γῆ Κασταμονίς, Γάγγρα προσέβλεψέ σου (IXb 8-9).

Here, *εὕρηκα* and *ἑώρακα* function as three and respectively four-syllable alternatives for two-syllable aorist forms.

In most cases, aorist active participles have the stress accent on the third syllable from the end of the word, whereas perfect participles have the accent on the second syllable from the end. This fact is exploited by Konstantinos Manasses in his chronicle written in 15-syllable verse (12th c.).[50] The aorist participle fits at the end of the first half-verse, the perfect participle at the end of the second half-verse (generally the second half-verse often simply repeats information already given in the first half-verse with other words, which means that here the perfect participle is a synonym of the aorist participle – thus, in the following examples the semantic coincidence of aorist and perfect forms is well illustrated).[51]

καὶ τῷ μηδὲν πικράναντι, μηδὲ λελυπηκότι (356)
πολλὰ γοῦν ἱκετεύσαντες καὶ δεδυσωπηκότες (1220)
τῷ Μάρκῳ τῷ γεννήσαντι καὶ τῷ πεπαιδευκότι (2221)
καὶ τοῦ παρανομήσαντος καὶ δεδυσσεβηκότος (2289)

Conclusions

Given the long period under investigation – extending over more than 1000 years –, the limited space of the present paper allows us only to draw attention to some general trends and to provide a footing for further research. The investigation of the frequency and distribution of perfect forms has shown that there exist considerable differences between texts, which are due to differing linguistic level, style and genre. Concerning the meaning, both parallel use and intralingual translation indicate that synthetic perfect forms are mostly used as an equiva-

50 O. Lampsidis, *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum*, CFHB 36 (Athens, 1996).

51 Cf. also the correspondence of the perfect indicative with the aorist: σὺ γάρ μου προαπόλωλας καὶ προεθανατώθης (1328).

lent to aorist forms. Contrary to the pluperfect, certain perfect forms seem to have been in use in the spoken language until quite late. Beyond this lexically restricted group of words which are frequently used in low level texts, the synthetic perfect, in the majority of cases, functions as a narrative tense freely alternating with the aorist. In Byzantine Greek the synthetic perfect constitutes a separate morphological category, but semantically it coincides with the aorist (and occasionally with the present). Consequently, the uncritical rendering of Byzantine synthetic perfect forms in the sense of an ancient perfect, as still occasionally practiced in modern translations, should be abandoned.

Byzantine authors were relatively free in their use of the synthetic perfect forms. For this reason, the application of these forms, and the extent and manner in which they were used, is a specific feature of every single author, a feature of his personal style. This is what makes the investigation of the synthetic perfect especially intriguing for the exploration of Byzantine literature and the aesthetics that permeated it. In our research we also have to take into consideration that attitudes towards these outdated and freely available synthetic perfect forms were subject to change over the course of the centuries.

Numbers of perfect and pluperfect forms in text samples of 6400 words each[52]

Appendix

(cf. above p. 178-179)

author, work	*perf. ind. (a/p)*	*part. (a/p)*	*inf.*	*total pf.*	*plupf.*
Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*	14 (9/5)	81 (30/51)	5	100	20
Athan., *V. Antonii*	35 (30/5)	35 (17/18)	11	81	6
V. Pachomii (*BHG* 1396)	14 (8/6)	22 (6/16)	2	38	–

52 Authors/works are listed in chronological order. If not otherwise indicated, editions of the texts can be found in TLG or *BHG* respectively.

Greg. Nys., *V. Greg.*	9 (4/5)	51 (18/33)	7	67	2
Pallad., *Hist. Laus.*	45 (34/11)	38 (20/18)	9	92	6
Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.*	33 (31/2)	86 (46/40)	10	129	10
id., *Phil. hist.*	20 (18/2)	86 (29/57)	6	112	11
Cyril. Scyth., *V. Euth.*	13 (9/4)	25 (11/14)	4	42	2
id., *V. Sab.*	30 (26/4)	39 (19/20)	2	71	1
Io. Malal., *Chron.*	1 (1/0)	16 (13/3)	–	17	–
Procop. Caes., *Hist.*	32 (16/16)	47 (18/29)	20	99	13
Theophyl. Sim., *Hist.*	18 (11/7)	82 (61/21)	7	107	17
Io. Mosch., *Prat. spir.*	20 (19/1)	30 (15/15)	1	51	1
V. Sym. Styl.	22 (17/5)	33 (15/18)	–	55	1
Leont., *V. Io. Elem.*	12 (5/7)	22 (6/16)	1	35	2
id., *V. Sym. Sal.*	12 (10/2)	13 (3/10)	–	25	1
Acta Anastasii Persae	13 (8/5)	33 (13/20)	–	46	3
Georg. Pis., *Laud. Anast.*	14 (14/0)	9 (4/5)	1	24	12
Georg., *V. Theo. Syc.*	18 (16/2)	35 (24/11)	3	56	2

Eustrat., *V. Eutychii*	25 (18/7)	29 (11/18)	4	58	3
V. Constantini (*BHG* 364)	18 (15/3)	31 (11/20)	7	56	4
Niceph. patr., *Hist.*	10 (8/2)	27 (14/13)	5	42	9
Georg. Syncel., *Chron.*	16 (8/8)	12 (5/7)	2	30	1
Theophan. Conf., *Chron.*	30 (28/2)	26 (18/8)	–	56	4
Nicet. Amn., *V. Philareti*	26 (25/1)	33 (5/28)	2	61	–
Sabas, *V. Ioannicii* (*BHG* 935)	17 (9/8)	44 (18/26)	–	61	8
id., *V. Petri Atr.* (*BHG* 2364)	17 (14/3)	63 (45/18)	4	84	4
V. Philareti (*BHG* 1512)	24 (21/3)	33 (6/27)	–	57	2
V. Auxentii (*BHG* 199)	17 (10/7)	51 (31/20)	7	75	2
Sym. Mag., *Chron.*	26 (24/2)	24 (6/18)	–	50	–
Leo Diacon., *Hist.*	26 (18/8)	47 (25/22)	8	81	11
Sym Met., *V. Euth.* (*BHG* 649)	6 (5/1)	36 (12/24)	3	45	4
id., *V. Sab.* (*BHG* 1609)	9 (6/3)	43 (24/19)	6	58	12
id., *V. Ioannic.* (*BHG* 937)	7 (7/0)	33 (19/14)	5	45	4
id., *Passio Anast.*	18 (9/9)	36 (19/17)	1	55	12

V. Pachomii (*BHG* 1400d)	20 (13/7)	58 (32/26)	5	83	21
Niceph. Ur., *V. Sym.* (*BHG* 1690)	21 (11/10)	44 (22/22)	4	69	42
Mi. Andr., *Syntipas*[53]	66 (59/7)	25 (17/8)	5	96	18
Nicet. Steth., *V. Sym.*[54]	14 (9/5)	49 (24/25)	–	63	2
Gregor., *V. Laz.* (*BHG* 979)	31 (25/6)	28 (12/16)	–	59	4
Mi. Psel., *Chron.*	40 (25/15)	71 (47/24)	10	121	80
id., *V. Auxentii*	49 (27/22)	61 (29/32)	2	112	58
Anna Comn., *Hist.*	19 (12/7)	54 (37/17)	14	87	27
Const. Manas., *Chron.*	15 (13/2)	37 (23/14)	1	53	16
Mi. Glyc., *Chron.*	33 (25/8)	29 (16/13)	6	68	5
id., *Carm. de carc.*	18 (9/9)	35 (6/29)	–	53	–
Digenes Acr. G	30 (23/7)	34 (13/21)	1	65	2
Carm. Ptochoprod.	15 (11/4)	41 (3/38)	–	56	–
Io. Cin., *Hist.*	18 (8/10)	78 (56/22)	10	106	21

[53] See above n. 38.

[54] S. Kutsas, *Νικήτα τοῦ Στηθάτου Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου* (Athens, 1994).

Nicet. Chon., *Hist.*	18 (8/10)	28 (17/11)	2	48	17
Georg. Acropol., *Hist.*	68 (47/21)	54 (17/37)	6	128	34
Georg. Cyp., *V. Laz.* (*BHG* 980)	13 (8/5)	35 (18/17)	6	54	3
Retract. hist. Syntipae[55]	31 (28/3)	15 (5/10)	4	50	3
Hist. Lib. et Rod.[56]	8 (8/0)	34 (0/34)	–	42	–
Hist. Call. et Chrys.[57]	6 (6/0)	31 (0/31)	–	37	–
Georg. Pach., *Hist.*	9 (3/6)	42 (18/24)	8	59	17
Metaphr. hist. Annae Com.	3 (3/0)	9 (3/6)	–	12	–
Metaphr. hist. Nicet. Chon.[58]	3 (3/0)	22 (5/17)	–	25	–
Niceph. Greg., *Hist.*	34 (22/12)	56 (31/25)	8	98	8
Io. Cant., *Hist.*	24 (18/6)	66 (24/42)	14	104	12
Digenes Acr. E	3 (3/0)	35 (0/35)	–	38	–
average of 61 text samples:	21 (15/6)	40 (19/21)	4	65	10

[55] See above n. 38.

[56] P. A. Agapitos, *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς διασκευῆς α*, Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 9 (Athens, 2006).

[57] C. Cupane, *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini. Callimaco e Crisorroe – Beltandro e Crisanza – Storia di Achille – Florio e Plaziaflore – Storia di Apollonio di Tiro – Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin, 1995), 45-213.

[58] See above n. 41.

Summary

While the synthetic (monolectic) perfect had vanished from the living language, it was still widely used in Byzantine literary texts. This article explores how often the synthetic perfect actually was used in different kinds of texts, what its exact meaning was and for what reasons this artificial form was applied. In order to answer these questions a large variety of texts have been analysed, special attention being paid to *metaphrases*, elaborated or simplified versions of certain texts that provide clear insight into the actual meaning of the forms. Active indicative forms generally are used as an alternative form for the aorist. During the early Byzantine period, for a lexically restricted group of verbs the synthetic perfect forms were used with aorist meaning (and replacing the aorist) also in simple, low level texts and probably in the spoken language, too. Beyond this limited number of verbs, the synthetic perfect forms signal the classicizing register, and their usage is linked to the authors' stylistic aspirations.

GENERAL INDEX

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

(acc./spir. indicates that the accent/spiritus of the word does not follow usual modern practice)